

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—Proverbs xxi. 8, 9.

VOLUME V. }
NUMBER III. } no. 4

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 1862.

PRICE—
ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM

CONTENTS OF THE PRESENT NUMBER.

The Spirit of Colonization.....	705
Anti Slavery Progress.....	706
The President and his Speeches.....	707
The Peninsula Abandoned.....	708
Brutal Assaults upon Colored People.....	709
Affairs in New Bedford.....	709
Words of a True Democrat.....	710
Letter to Gen. Hunter.....	711
Persecution of Negroes.....	711
The President in Conference with Colored Men.....	712
Cause and Effect.....	712
First of August at Myricks.....	713
Disgraceful Riot at Brooklyn.....	714
Disposal of Recaptured Africans.....	714
Gen. T. P. Thompson.....	715
Correspondence between Lee and Halleck.....	716
Letter from Gen. Hunter to Dr. Tyng.....	717
The Fight on the Rappahannock.....	718
An Appeal in behalf of Colored Citizens.....	718
Letter from M. R. Lundy.....	719

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY

THE SPIRIT OF COLONIZATION.

We have been favored with two copies of the August number of the Colonization Herald. What we have said or done of late to merit this favor we do not know. Certainly the whole colonization scheme never appeared to us more detestable and wicked than at this moment. At a time when Emancipation seems to be a national necessity, and when the wisest and best statesmen in the national councils are lifting up their voices in favor of employing the sable arm of the nation for the salvation of the country, when the black man is on the point of attaining a position in the land of his birth, the satanic spirit of colonization, craftily veiling itself in the livery of Heaven, and speaking in the name of Divine Providence, proceeds with more than usual vigor to unchain, and let loose upon us, all the malignant and satanic influences of the country. The Colonization Herald, whether intentionally or otherwise, is co-operating with the infernal spirit of persecution which has of late sought to exterminate the free colored people in Brooklyn, Cincinnati, and other cities at the North. If the writers for that paper were called upon to set fire to a tobacco house, and roast alive thirty or forty black persons guilty of no crime, their hearts would probably sicken at the deed. Nevertheless, these same writers do not fail to see in this atrocity when performed, or attempted by others, a purpose of Divine Providence to compel the colored race in America to emigrate to Africa; and it is just this sort of sanctimonious endorsement of the bloodthirsty proceedings of negro hating mobocrats, which keeps them in countenance and spurs them on to their fiendish work. The colonization agents, and the persecuting mob co operate. Colonization gives life and vigor to popular prejudice, gives it an air of philosophy, piety and respectability, and the violence of the mob, gives the facts to sustain their pious negro hating theories.

Thus they act and react, to one common end: the mob furnishing brickbats and pistols,

and the colonization agents and papers, furnishing arguments and piety. Does a drunken, ignorant, negro-hating crowd, in Southern Illinois, under the lead of some pro-slavery politician vote against negro suffrage, and claim that this is exclusively the white man's country, the colonization class of theologians see at once the hand of God in the transaction pointing the negro to Africa, the land of his ancestors. No attempt is made to correct the injustice and wrong done the black man here; no attempt is made to remove the unholy feeling of caste. On the contrary this malignant feeling, is the grand ally of the whole colonization scheme, without which its very foundation would be utterly swept away. When a Western State in a spirit of selfishness, revolting to every impulse of humanity, passes a law forbidding colored men to settle within its geographical boundaries, these colonizationists with bland and saintly serenity, go in such horrible cruelty, nothing to denounce, but rather an important social fact, indicating the purpose of the Almighty, to remove the negroes from America to Africa! Deeds that would start a cry of shame from the ribs of death, ruffle not the pious equanimity of this sect. The priests who witnessed the burning of the glorious martyr John Huss looked unmoved upon his terrible agony, and colonizationists in this country look upon the sufferings of the colored race with equal composure. Like the saintly murderers of old our modern persecutors shield themselves under the wings of the Almighty.

They deal in history, philosophy, theology and treat all the base passions of one race, towards another as the inevitable ordinations of Divine Providence, not to be overcome by reason, justice, and humanity, but made the basis of political action for the separation of such races. All this and more, as to the moral disposition and tendency of colonization may be seen in this August number of the Colonization Herald. The essence of its teachings respecting the negro, is summed up in the following brief extract from its columns:

'Two centuries of servility have not changed his nature. Modified as he has been by surrounding influences, he is still an African, albeit an American African. His relation to his fatherland is clear and specific; for though he is an American, he is always and everywhere in this country and on this continent an Africo American. Other races may lose their characteristics and identity by intermarriage; they may be absorbed and wholly disappear; but it is not so with the negro.—The ban of nature ordinarily prevents intermarriage with the whites. The mingling of his blood with that of the Caucasian is followed by physical results which admit no doubt of a natural interdiction. Centuries of contact have not sufficed for the extinction of the peculiarities of African parentage. The Moors of Northern Africa, are still Moors and nothing more. A similar progeny in this country must, for generations, if not forever,

retain the characteristics of the birth. The mongrel races of Mexico afford little reason to expect elevation by amalgamation. * * * If his destiny be not that of some kind of servile inferiority to the white man, separation from him is necessary to the negro's highest elevation and happiness. For it is an established truth of history, that two free races between whom amalgamation by intermarriage is impossible, can never occupy the same land in peace on terms of social and political equality. The repulsive force of America heretofore arises to an ultimate necessity. The colored man must leave this country to better his condition. And if he leaves this land, he will finally go to the home of his forefathers, since the same conditions will attend him wherever he stops on this continent or its adjacent Isles.'

Such is the essence of colonization in the year of Grace one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two. Such is the miserable philosophy, to which we are called upon to assent.

To all this we have, as a colored man and an American, a few words to say. We will make it a text for a few reflections. The first complaint against the negro by this colonizationist, is, that 'two hundred years of servility have not changed his nature.' There is obvious malice in the manner of stating this allegation. Why, in the name of common honesty, if the writer must lay down any such a proposition to sustain his theory, did he not use the word 'slavery' rather than 'servility.' Slavery is the crime of the slaveholder. 'servility' is the baseness of the willing slave, and it is this baseness which this soft colonizationist aims to fix indelibly upon the nature of the negro and thus under the garb of friendship for the negro, he deals him his deadliest stabs. The nature of the negro is very much like human nature generally, and we do not know that two hundred years of slavery was ever expected by any sensible man, to make any favorable 'change' in it.—Slavery has been tried we believe, upon all nations, and we think, thus far, it has never been known to produce such a change in the nature of its victims white or black. Ethnology has cast doubt upon the old doctrine that mankind descended from one original pair, but we believe that even that science affirms a common human nature for all men.

But after all it is most evidently not the negro's nature but the negro's color, which is the real trouble to the Colonization Herald. He does not lose his color by 'servility.' His hated color clings to him despite of every thing. This is the trouble, and the fact is another proof of man's perverse proclivity to create the causes of his own misery.—When there is so many real causes to vex and disturb the human mind and heart, is it not strange that men will contrive artificial ones for their own special torment? A man who should make himself miserable b

cause the sky over him is blue, not white, because the stars are only visible at night, because water instead of ascending like smoke, descends like water, or because all the horses, cattle and dogs, fish and fowls are not of the same color, however much we might pity him, would nevertheless, be only a most unnatural fool, having only himself to thank for his vexation. Now we do not thus characterize those who are so greatly troubled about the hopeless blackness of the negro, but we think they might, upon reflecting, learn to be content with the known laws of diversity which pervade the universe.

But our colonization brother will say it is not the negro's color that offends him, but it is the persistent determination of that color to show itself in this country. In Africa, color is all right enough, but not so in America.—What he wants is this: To arrange the families of mankind over the different belts of the earth, in the different latitudes, longitudes, altitudes of it, and to fix the bounds of the habitation of each color, according to climate, soil and production, instead of having them straying about over the world, the Indian breathing air which nature only intended for the lungs of white men, and the negro in his turn breathing the air and occupying the space which nature intended solely for some other. Verily if this is the mission of colonization, (and it evidently is) it has undertaken a large work. But we black men have a right to ask our colonization brothers to be impartial in the application of their principles.—They should set the world right generally, sending each race to the land of its ancestors, and each individual to the precise house or hut in which he was born. If they are sincere about their theory of climatic distribution, they should do nothing to cast a doubt upon that sincerity. They should be consistent and get up first of all a society for getting the whites back to Europe, and the Indians back to New England, and if they will insist upon Africa as the only country for the negro, they should get up a colonization society for getting the Dutch and the English who have settled in large numbers in different parts of Africa back again to Holland or England the lands from which they emigrated.

But another reason why the negro should go to Africa, is that the "ban of nature ordinarily prevents intermarriage with the whites. It beats all, how much fuss there is made over this matter. We affirm that the "ban of nature" whatever that may be, neither ordinarily nor extraordinarily does any such thing and our colonizationist knows it does not.—But if it did, it would not prevent the negroes from marrying among themselves. But the ban of nature, as we have said does no such thing. Public opinion, prejudice, condition may prevent intermarriages, but the 'ban of nature' does just no such thing. The statement is abundantly contradicted by the statistics of mulattoes, and quadroons all over the south. Your "ban of nature" is a mere fiction. If any such ban existed, artificial bans such as legal enactments, and popular prejudice would not be needed to keep the races asunder. Nature would do her work here as elsewhere 'ordinary' and extraordinary, without intervention from any quarter. We need no laws to prevent intermarriage in any direction where nature has plainly interdicted marriage. It is easy to point to the Moors of North

Africa, and to the mongrel races of Mexico, but until it can be shown that the vices of those peoples are the direct or indirect result of amalgamation, nothing is proved against amalgamation. Whenever any new villainy is to be perpetrated, or any old one against the negro perpetuated, the popular prejudice is rallied by a denunciation of amalgamation. And among those who denounce amalgamation most, you often find the fathers of mulatto and quadroon children, men mean enough to take advantage of their absolute power, as masters, to sustain a relation to their black slave women which can only be honorable in marriage, are the men who most loudly and coarsely denounce amalgamation.

[But here comes the conclusion of the whole matter: "Two free races between whom amalgamation by intermarriage is impossible can never occupy the same land in peace, on terms of social and political equality."—The answer to this is, that no two races of men ever did, or ever will occupy any given quarter of the globe where amalgamation by intermarriage was or will be impossible, and that therefore the proposition and all its predicates go for nothing. The truth of history only applies to what has been, and to what may be, and therefore has no lessons to teach at this point. After all, it is not the impossibility of amalgamation but its possibility that most alarms our oppressors. Of all men they, themselves are the most sceptical concerning the existence of any natural "ban" against such intermarriage. But mark the terrible consequences of the fundamental proposition here laid down by the Colonization Herald. If men may not live peaceably together in the case supposed, in the same land, they cannot so live on the same continent, and ultimately in the same world. For the globe under the increasing light of knowledge, science, and skill, is found to be rather small. The cry for elbow room, which would push us off an island, will in due time push us off a continent; and finally off the Globe! If the black man cannot find peace from the aggressions of the white race on this continent, he will not be likely to find it permanently on any part of the habitable globe. The same base and selfish lust for dominion which would drive us from this country would hunt us from the world. The Herald warns us that we are not to stop on this continent, and assures us that the same causes which make it necessary to leave the United States will ultimately make it necessary for us to leave any and every part of this continent. A sad prospect truly.

After all, the Herald, like a great many other evil doers, is made to bear witness against itself. In the very same number where so much space is given to the idea that there is a natural repugnance on the part of the white man towards the black, there are several columns occupied with a narration of the movements of President BENSON a full blooded negro, now in England. In these columns, President Benson is shown to have been treated by the English people with more than respect and courtesy, that in fact his visit there was a splendid ovation. Now the question is, what makes the difference between the two countries? The English are about as white as are the Americans, and Benson is as black in England as in America, and nature is about the same everywhere. Now what make

the difference? Why can Benson dine at the National Club in London, when he would be kicked from the table of the Astor House in New York? Why may he ride through the streets of London on any and every conveyance without the least annoyance, while in New York or Philadelphia he would not be allowed to ride in some of the cars by the side of an American gentleman's dog? What makes the difference? Why is Benson treated with consideration in one country when he would be treated only with scorn and contempt in the other? The answer to all this is, that liberty has civilized England, while slavery has barbarized America.

Let Colonization Journals cease to apologize for this barbarism, cease to call it natural, cease to make the negro appear odious, cease to invent theories founded on distorted facts, in proof of the permanent inferiority of the colored race, cease to regard the enlightenment of America up to the British standard impossible, and rebuke with becoming earnestness and indignation, the barbarous outrages committed upon the negro, and they will show themselves more human and christian than their present and past labors have shown them to be.

ANTI-SLAVERY PROGRESS.

Notwithstanding the apparent determination of the Government to command in the field, to preserve the Union at the same time, notwithstanding the exaltation of pro-slavery over anti-slavery commanders, and the steady purpose of the Government to check and arrest all anti-slavery measures and tendencies in the army and country, it is evident that the idea that this horrible slaveholding rebellion can only be speedily and successfully put down by suppressing its cause, in the entire abolition of slavery, has gained decided ground during the last few weeks among the loyal people.—The defeats, and disasters on the field which have visibly thinned the ranks of the loyal army, and the call for six hundred thousand more men, and the prospect of heavily increased national debt, and grinding taxation, are doing their legitimate work among the people, however little they may seem to affect the Government at Washington. In the addresses of distinguished statesmen, at the war meetings all over the country, the call for a vigorous prosecution of the war is more and more conspicuous and bold. Confiscate the property of traitors, Emancipate and arm his slaves, put an end to the cause of the war, leave the rebels nothing to fight for,—cease to watch and guard the property of rebels, cease to return their slaves, cease to shoot down—as General BUTLER did at New Orleans—loyal negroes, who asserted their freedom against the rebels, cease to degrade anti-slavery Generals, cease to look for peace by means of conciliation, and wage stern, vigorous, unrelenting war with rebels, not as dissatisfied fellow-citizens, but as malignant public enemies, are the words which now find an echo in the hearts of the loyal masses all over the North, as well as in some of the border slave States. The speeches of Cassius M. Clay, Governor Andrew, Governor Sprague, Ex-Governor Boutwell, Robert Dale Owen, O. A. Brownson, General Lew Wallace, General Lane and many others all look to the abolition of slavery as the only wise solution of our present national troubles. Increasing impatience and discon-

tent with the non-execution of the confiscation and emancipation acts, and with the retention of incompetent generals, and the humiliation of earnest and competent ones, are showing themselves in a variety of ways, and on these grounds we still wait and work hopefully. We cannot despair of the slave, while his cause is thus becoming more and more palpably the real cause of the country. A few weeks more of sufferings, disasters, defeats, and ruin of the slaughter of our country's first born; a few weeks more of successful rebellion and threatened intervention from abroad, a few weeks more of gloomy prostration of business and of earnest protest on the part of the suffering people, will we trust arouse the Government to a just and wise sense of the demands of the age and of the hour. We are to be saved as by fire. Nothing short of the bitterest drugs of the bitter cup of this slaveholding rebellion seem sufficient to wean our Government from the side of slavery, and to destroy its reverence for the slave power. We grieve with the sorrow stricken families all over the North whose beloved ones are slaughtered on the altar of our American slave god, but their terrible afflictions and heavy sorrows are their educators.

The mild and gentle persuasions of abolitionists have been despised, their counsels and warnings have been scorned and rejected. Now the fiery sword of justice waves over the land, and we must reap as we have sown, before we shall renounce the wrong, and pursue the right. The tears and blood we are now pouring out may at last bring us to our senses.

By some, it is even now thought too late. We have gone so far in this slaveholding business, we have dealt so harshly with the slave, and so tenderly with his rebel master; we have offended so deeply the spirit of Liberty, and bowed so low to the dark and bloody spirit of slavery, that it is doubted whether we have the requisite moral stamina to save our country from destruction, whether we shall not at last give up the contest, patch up a deceitful peace and restore the slave power to more than its former power and influence in the republic. These things we say are doubted and not without cause. It is plain that such a solution of our troubles would be strictly in keeping with a large part of the old Democratic party, which yearns for the loaves and fishes of office, which it has been temporarily deprived of by the treason of its southern allies. There are too, many republicans who are as destitute of anti-slavery principle as their democratic rivals, who would acquiesce in some compromise arrangement, by which they can pursue hereafter as heretofore a course of political trimming between the anti-slavery sentiment of the north, and its opposite at the south. The Government too, favors this idea of a settlement of our national troubles. The President still talks of the "Union as it was," and the Secretary of State talks of doing one thing at a time, about saving the Union, and attending to other questions afterwards. Verily there is much in this quarter upon which to hang doubts, and regrets and fears.

Nevertheless we have yet strong grounds of hope. The rebels are firm, determined, enthusiastic and wonderfully successful. They have beaten off McClellan, hold Richmond securely, and are menacing Washington, and all the Border States. With slavery undis-

turbed they can prolong the war indefinitely. Certain it is, they show no signs of weariness. Every month gained in defying the authority of the Federal Government renders final success to the rebel mind more certain. Already they have been a year and a half in arms against that authority. They can say to Europe in a few months from now, that they have been free and independent two full years, defying all the power of the land and naval forces of the United States to subdue them, and there is reason to believe that such a fact will be respected by the Governments of Europe already eager for occasion to terminate the war. Considerations of this character will make the south slow to listen to any compromise, and will, we still hope, compel the Federal Government to take at last the step, which it ought to have taken at the first i. e. destroy this slaveholding contagion, by destroying the filthy cause which produced it. Than this there is no other way, slavery must die if the nation lives, and the nation must die if slavery lives.

THE PRESIDENT AND HIS SPEECHES.

The President of the United States seems to possess an ever increasing passion for making himself appear silly and ridiculous, if nothing worse. Since the publication of our last number he has been unusually garrulous, characteristically foggy, remarkably illogical and untimely in his utterances, often saying that which nobody wanted to hear, and studiously leaving unsaid about the only things which the country and the times imperatively demand of him. Our garrulous and joking President has favored the country and the world with two speeches, which if delivered by any other than the President of the United States, would attract no more attention than the funny little speeches made in front of the arcade by our friend John Smith, inviting customers to buy his razor strops.—One of the speeches of the President was made at a war meeting in Washington in vindication of Mr. Stanton, and in justification of himself against the charge that he had failed to send reinforcements to Gen. McClellan. Very little need be said of this first speech. In comparison with some speeches made on that occasion, the President's is short, but in comparison to the amount of matter it contains, it is tediously long, full of repetitions, and so remarkably careless in style that it reminds one strongly of the gossiping manner in which a loquacious old woman discusses her neighbor's and her own domestic affairs, and explaining herself soludly that her audience, after listening with all due patience, are in the end as well informed about the subject in question as before the exposition. In short the speech does not prove anything except that the Secretary of War is not responsible, but that the President is responsible for the failure to send reinforcements to General McClellan. We may at once have done with this speech, especially since the information it contains was explicitly given to the country full three weeks before its utterance at the War meeting in Washington.

The other and more important communication of the President it appears was delivered in the White House before a committee of colored men assembled by his invitation. In this address Mr. Lincoln assumes the language

and arguments of an itinerant Colonization lecturer, showing all his inconsistencies, his pride of race and blood, his contempt for negroes and his canting hypocrisy. How an honest man could creep into such a character as that implied by this address we are not required to show. The argument of Mr. Lincoln is that the difference between the white and black races renders it impossible for them to live together in the same country without detriment to both. Colonization therefore, he holds to be the duty and the interest of the colored people. Mr. Lincoln takes care in urging his colonization scheme to furnish a weapon to all the ignorant and base, who need only the countenance of men in authority to commit all kinds of violence and outrage upon the colored people of the country. Taking advantage of his position and of the prevailing prejudice against them he affirms that their presence in the country is the real first cause of the war, and logically enough, if the premises were sound, assumes the necessity of their removal.

It does not require any great amount of skill to point out the fallacy and expose the unfairness of the assumption, for by this time every man who has an ounce of brain in his head—no matter to which party he may belong, and even Mr. Lincoln himself must know quite well that the mere presence of the colored race never could have provoked this horrid and desolating rebellion. Mr. Lincoln knows that in Mexico, Central America and South America, many distinct races live peaceably together in the enjoyment of equal rights, and that the civil wars which occasionally disturb the peace of those regions never originated in the difference of the races inhabiting them. A horse thief pleading that the existence of the horse is the apology for his theft or a highway man contending that the money in the traveler's pocket is the sole first cause of his robbery are about as much entitled to respect as is the President's reasoning at this point. No, Mr. President, it is not the innocent horse that makes the horse thief, not the traveler's purse that makes the highway robber, and it is not the presence of the negro that causes this foul and unnatural war, but the cruel and brutal cupidity of those who wish to possess horses, money and negroes by means of theft, robbery, and rebellion. Mr. Lincoln further knows or ought to know at least that negro hatred and prejudice of color are neither original nor invincible vices, but merely the offshoots of that root of all crimes and evils—slavery. If the colored people instead of having been stolen and forcibly brought to the United States had come as free immigrants, like the German and the Irish, never thought of as suitable objects of property, they never would have become the objects of aversion and bitter persecution, nor would there ever have been divulged and propagated the arrogant and malignant nonsense about natural repugnancy and the incompatibility of races.

Illogical and unfair as Mr. Lincoln's statements are, they are nevertheless quite in keeping with his whole course from the beginning of his administration up to this day, and confirms the painful conviction that though elected as an anti-slavery man by Republican and Abolition voters, Mr. Lincoln is quite a genuine representative of American prejudice and negro hatred and far more concerned for the preservation of slavery, and the favor of

the Border Slave States, than for any sentiment of magnanimity or principle of justice and humanity. This address of his leaves us less ground to hope for anti-slavery action at his hands than any of his previous utterances. Notwithstanding his repeated declarations that he considers slavery an evil, every step of his Presidential career relating to slavery proves him active, decided, and brave for its support, and passive, cowardly, and treacherous to the very cause of liberty to which he owes his election. This speech of the President delivered to a committee of free colored men in the capital explains the animus of his interference with the memorable proclamation of General Fremont. A man who can charge this war to the presence of colored men in this country might be expected to take advantage of any legal technicalities for arresting the cause of Emancipation, and the vigorous prosecution of the war against slaveholding rebels. To these colored people, without power and without influence the President is direct, undisguised, and unhesitating. He says to the colored people: I don't like you, you must clear out of the country. So too in dealing with anti-slavery Generals the President is direct and firm. He is always brave and resolute in his interferences in favor of slavery, remarkably unconcerned about the wishes and opinions of the people of the north; apparently wholly indifferent to the moral sentiment of civilized Europe; but bold and self-reliant as he is in the ignominious service of slavery, he is as timid as a sheep when required to live up to a single one of his anti-slavery testimonies. He is scrupulous to the very letter of the law in favor of slavery, and a perfect latitudinarian as to the discharge of his duties under a law favoring freedom. When Congress passed the Confiscation Bill, made the Emancipation of the slaves of rebels the law of the land, authorized the President to arm the slaves which should come within the lines of the Federal army, and thus removed all technical objections, everybody who attached any importance to the President's declarations of scrupulous regard for law, looked at once for a proclamation emancipating the slaves and calling the blacks to arms. But Mr. Lincoln, formerly so strict and zealous in the observance of the most atrocious laws which ever disgraced a country, has not been able yet to muster courage and honesty enough to obey and execute that grand decision of the people. He evaded his obvious duty, and instead of calling the blacks to arms and to liberty he merely authorized the military commanders to use them as laborers, without even promising them their freedom at the end of their term of service to the government, and thus destroyed virtually the very object of the measure. Further when General Halleck issued his odious order No 3, excluding fugitive slaves from our lines, an order than which none could be more serviceable to the slaveholding rebels, since it was a guarantee against the escape of their slaves, Mr. Lincoln was deaf to the outcry and indignation which resounded through the north, and west, and saw no occasion for interference, though that order violated a twice adopted resolution of Congress. When General McClellan employed our men guarding rebel property and even when Gen. Butler committed the outrage paralleled only by the atrocities of the rebels—delivering back into bondage thousands of

slaves—Mr. Lincoln again was mute and did not feel induced to interfere in behalf of outraged humanity.

The tone of frankness and benevolence which he assumes in his speech to the colored committee is too thin a mask not to be seen through. The genuine spark of humanity is missing in it, no sincere wish to improve the condition of the oppressed has dictated it. It expresses merely the desire to get rid of them, and reminds one of the politeness with which a man might try to bow out of his house some troublesome creditor or the witness of some old guilt. We might also criticise the style, adopted, so exceedingly plain and coarse threaded as to make the impression that Mr. L. had such a low estimate of the intelligence of his audience, as to think any but the simplest phrases and constructions would be above their power of comprehension. As Mr. Lincoln however in all his writings has manifested a decided awkwardness in the management of the English language, we do not think there is any intention in this respect, but only the incapacity to do better.

THE PENINSULA ABANDONED:

With mingled feelings of sorrow, shame and indignation, we record the last dismal movement of the Army of the Potomac.—All that the blunders of McClellan—more fatal than the bullets of the rebels—have left of this once magnificent army, has now totally disappeared from the peninsula before Richmond. Delay, disease, digging and disasters, have done their work. An army of one hundred and sixty thousand men, in April is an army of only sixty thousand effective men in August. Like mists before the rising sun, like snow under a summer shower, this once magnificent army has dissolved. Youth, beauty, and valor, the pride and glory of the country have faded away, and left only a ghastly skeleton of an army to float mysteriously down the James River, amid the jeers and derision of exulting traitors. The general who upon paper never retreats, who never fights but to conquer, whose "masterly strategy" has been the subject of incessant eulogy by a thousand presses, during the last twelve months, who ostentatiously boasted in February that the Army of the Potomac had made its last retreat and seen its last defeat, and who gave out private assurances that in one month from the time of landing at Yorktown he would be in Richmond, has now with the scattered remains of a mighty army, turned his back on the arrogant foe, and ingloriously sought safety in flight, never having won beyond dispute a single battle.

While we share in the feeling of shame, sorrow and indignation generally felt over this most "lame and impotent conclusion" of the peninsula campaign, we can confess to no disappointment. General McClellan has fully met our expectations. From the day we read his declaration concerning the suppression of slave insurrections, we instinctively knew our man, and from him expected nothing as a warrior. The battle or slaughter of Ball's Bluff, the movement on the dead horses and wooden guns of Manassas, the return of fugitive slaves to their masters, the disallowance of anti-slavery singing among his soldiers, the guarding of rebel property, while its owners are engaged in shooting down loyal men, the praises lavished upon him by all the

treasonable pro-slavery presses and politicians of the north, taught us to look for all that has happened in the shape of disasters, defeats, retreats, and failures which have marked the history of McClellan on the peninsula. We have had no faith to lose in this man, and should have been more surprised by his success than we are by his present stupendous and disgraceful failure. It is a consolation to us that no look, word, or gesture of ours has created or increased the confidence of any man in this General. The heart of McClellan is with slavery. Satan does not cast out Satan. For a square stand up fight with slaveholding rebels, the loyal sword must not be in pro-slavery hands. The hands of our generals must be unpolluted by slavery. McClellan has no such hands, and can make no such fight as the crisis demands. To oppose such a general to an earnest General like Stonewall Jackson, is madness. It is a strutting turkey gobbler against the talons of an eagle. Besides having no heart in this war, McClellan has clearly shown no martial ability. Success, is a fair standard in the long run for all kinds of pretension, military or social. Exceptions only prove the rule. A man who habitually fails to do the right thing, and evermore does the wrong thing, whether by accident or otherwise, is not a general. What he aims to accomplish, he never respects for his pretensions. There is not a single instance in which this man McClellan, when left to himself has done ought to put down this rebellion. Mistakes and blunders to the advantage of the rebels, have characterized all his movements. When told to move in February, he collected a vast number of boats from all parts of the country in the Potomac scarcely any of which could be used for the purpose for which they were obtained. When he moved upon Yorktown he was met by the same mortifying vacancy as at Manassas.—He had ditched his army nearly to death to no purpose. The enemy had betaken himself to another and stronger position. The succession of battles on the peninsula have been little better than a series of defeats. It was "strategy" to go to the peninsula, and it is "strategy" to leave the peninsula, but all the strategic movements of this general have thus far only weakened the army, encouraged the rebels, and disheartened the country.

The fall of McClellan has been as rapid as his rise. Wealth gotten by deceit, is soon wasted. He rose to power on the deeds of other men, and has fallen because found out. The battles of Western Virginia from which he derived his fame were neither planned nor fought by him. The people were cheated into the belief that the brilliant dispatch writer must be a valiant warrior. They are now quite bravely over this delusion. They have found that the "iron hand" of McClellan was for slaves rising for Liberty, not for slaveholders rising against Liberty. The appointment of Halleck over McClellan means all and more than all that meets the eye.—We think it means that the fine steel engraving, the splendid horse, and the magnificent eulogies of "strategy" are about played out, and that hereafter, we are to know McClellan either as a splendid military impostor or as a cold blooded traitor to the loyal cause, and most probably the latter will be the most generally accepted designation.

For the sake of the country, sadly in want

of an able and faithful General, we might lament the fall of McClellan, if he were such a General. For the sake of freedom now wounded and bleeding by the hands of rebels and traitors, we might mourn if McClellan were truly the friend of freedom. But being neither an able General, nor a friend to impartial Liberty, and his very name being the watchword of all those who would rivet forever the chains on four million slaves and permanently reinstall over the country the insolent slave power, neither the country nor the friends of freedom can have any tears to shed over the humiliation of this man McClellan. The decline of his power, is the best sign of hope for the country which this month has given us. If we must have a political General, as indeed it seems we must, men who are no sooner on the field than their eyes are turned towards the Presidency, let us have one who will at least, be as careful not to kill northern as southern voters.

BRUTAL AND UNPROVOKED ASSAULTS UPON COLORED PEOPLE.

A species of violence and persecution towards colored people has been revived in Northern towns and cities during the present and past month, which can only be accounted for by the presence of some deadly inciting cause. Assaulting individual negroes in the streets, and bodies of negroes at their work was, years ago, of frequent occurrence even in the best of our Northern towns and cities. But of late, this savage practice had well nigh ceased—and colored men were nearly as little liable to personal assault as other people. The case is now changed for the worse, and the unarmed black man, on the streets, at his work, and in his house, is constantly marked out for violence and persecution such as would disgrace a community of savages.

Cincinnati and Brooklyn have of late had their mobs of this character, and the colored people of those cities have suffered much in person and property from them, while scarcely a day passes when we do not hear of some individual assaults without any visible cause. The writer of these lines was standing in the Rail Road Station at Springfield Massachusetts, awaiting the departure of a train to Albany, perfectly silent and engrossed with his own thoughts, when he was confronted by a stalwart Irishman, who demanded two cents for an old and worthless postage stamp, and on being refused, poured out upon him a loud stream of vile abuse attempting meanwhile to clutch the writer by the throat. He laid the ruffian on the ground and mounted the cars, and was off with the train, before he could rally to a second assault—though not without leaving the sleeve of a tolerably good coat behind him.

On reaching home we heard of similar outrages in Rochester, and in other parts of the country. The number, character, and simultaneous occurrence of such assaults all over the Northern States, render them highly significant, and suggests the idea that the poor miserable human brutes who openly persecute them are really the least guilty parties. The pretense that colored men are elbowing white men out of employment cannot be alleged as explanation. Work for all classes is abundant, and there are few of the whites who wish to compete with the negro in those few departments of labor which are still open to him. Nor is mere wantonness an explanation.

There never was a time when this vice was more visibly checked in this country. Our young, daring, dashing young white men have gone to the war from all our towns and cities, and the wanton gaiety which sometimes leads to a brush at street corners, has been sobered down, and has in some instances wholly disappeared. If the base and brutal assaults made upon the colored people arose from wantonness, there would be less cause of concern. They would soon die out. But, if as some think, there is a secret slaveholding organization all over the free States, in secret sympathy with the rebels, and full of hatred to the negro, and who think the ends of the rebels can be better served by stirring up hate and wrath against our long abused and unprotected people, these assaults become just cause of alarm and searching enquiry.

It is remarkable that these demonstrations of hostility came along about the same time when it became probable that the necessities of the Government would lead to arming the negroes in common with others to fight the battles of the Republic. We can conceive of any number of base motives for opposing such arming, and for endeavoring to defeat it by all means. We take the following timely remarks on the subject from the New York Tribune:

Yesterday afternoon a colored man, was quietly walking along Furman street, in Brooklyn. Some white men hooted at him, or made offensive remarks. He had the audacity to answer. The whites set about the pleasing pastime of beating him. He defended himself as best he could—kept off five or six—when five or six more mixed to whip the negro because he was black. He picked up a stone, and knocked a man named Lynch on the head. Then a crowd collected, and about a hundred brave, chivalrous white men undertook to kill the negro not only because he was black, but because he would not stand quietly at ease and be murdered for the sport of the Knickerbocker Ice men. The black man escaped from the infuriated crowd by being arrested and taken to the Station-House. There being no charge against him, he was set at large. It does not appear that any of the sportive crowd who hunted the negro down were arrested. We understand that many less prominent events of the kind have recently occurred in Brooklyn. Will not all good citizens unite in stopping this wicked business? It suffered to go on, their may be a fearful reckoning ere long. The men who instigate as well as those who make these outbreaks against a handful of helpless creatures are, playing with burning torches in a powder-house. If men are to be killed like dogs because they are black, the same spirit will kill them because they are anything else than an unreasonable mob may not like.—'They that sow the wind will reap the whirlwind.'

AFFAIRS IN NEW BEDFORD.

MR. EDITOR:—August the First dawned upon us with a very heavy fog, which clouded the minds and feelings of hundreds that anticipated great pleasure in an excursion of about four-teen miles' ride in the cars. But before the sun was three hours high the fog gave way, when hearts began to lighten, and eyes glistened with joy. About ten o'clock A. M. the cars commenced moving amid the joy and delight of four or five hundred souls on board. After an hour's ride we found ourselves at the grove, where we found our old friend Frederick Douglass, Esq., and his son Lewis. The presence of his familiar countenance and stately form was cheering to all present. About twelve o'clock M., we were notified by the ringing of the grove bell that a meeting was to be organized. It was called to order by Mr. Wm. H. Johnson, read the following list of officers:—
President—Rodney French.
Vice-president—Augustus Monroe.

T. R. Dennison.
Rev. Wm. Jackson.
Secretaries—Lewis Douglass.
William H. Johnson.

The President made some remarks in relation to the present crisis of this country, which were able and patriotic.

Frederick Douglass, Esq., was then introduced amid the greatest enthusiasm. He spoke for two hours, in words and language that could not be misunderstood. After some remarks from others the meeting adjourned.

About six o'clock we again took the cars for home, all feeling that nothing had been lost by that day's excursion. Great credit is due to John J. York, Esq., for his efforts in getting up the celebration. In the evening a Sabbath School Concert was held in the Salem Church (Rev. Wm. Jackson's) when Mr. Douglass again occupied the time to the delight of all and the amusement of the children.

A matinee was given on the same evening by Mr. T. S. Boston, which was graced with many ladies from abroad, as well as ladies from our own city.

William Wells Brown, Esq., spoke in the largest white church on Sunday evening, August 3, which was filled to its utmost capacity. He spoke one hour and a half in his eloquent and masterly style.

Monday evening, Aug. 4, Miss Ellen Allen gave an exhibition in Music Hall, which was very successful. 'Uncle Sam and the Seceding States,' which composed thirty-eight performers, was satisfactorily performed, and great credit is due to Miss Allen for the able manner in which the exercises were conducted. We had the pleasure of an introduction to Prof. Wilson and lady, from your city, who are here as guests of Mrs. E. R. Johnson.

THE NEGRO'S FIRST HEARING.—'Occasional,' of the Philadelphia Press, alluding to the President's recent interview with a colored delegation on the subject of colonization, remarks:

The negro may well say that under President Lincoln he has had his first hearing in the White House. Other Presidents have bought and sold him, and driven him from the territories, and closed their eyes to the nefarious system under which he was captured in Africa and dragged over the ocean in chains. But President Lincoln has listened to his story and given him counsel and advice.

'Occasional' has got this little affair a good deal muddled. It is true the negro has had his first admission to the White House,—audience it was not. He went, not to receive a hearing, but a lecture on the difference between his race and ours. He went to be told, in effect, that a certain passage in Scripture, which declares that of 'one blood God made all the nations of the earth' was an entire mistake. It so happened that the President listened to no story,—though the negro could relate a story of wrong and outrage, extended through many a century of barbarian history, down to the present enlightened age, that would make the very stones cry out. The negro was in the White House to listen to a grave proposition to take him from the land of his nativity, and exile him to a foreign shore,—but he said nothing himself, except that he would think of it. And we think he will,—a good while, too.—[Syracuse Journal.]

PRESIDENT BENSON, OF LIBERIA.—The American Colonization Society, of this city, learns that President Benson left London, on the 5th inst., for Hamburg and the Continent, expecting to be absent some five or six weeks. It is therefore unlikely that he will visit the United States. Everywhere in England he has been treated with the greatest possible kindness, courtesy, and respect. The last three invitations he had before his departure from London were to breakfast with the Duchess of Argyll, to dine at Lord Mayor's Banquet, where the Viceroy of Egypt was, and to a magnificent evening party at Miss Burckett Coutts. 'He had innumerable invitations,' writes Gerard Ralston, Esq., 'more than he physically could accept.'

—It is reported in Baltimore that Fort McHenry is to be cleared of all political prisoners who are to be sent to Fort Warren.

WORDS OF A TRUE DEMOCRAT.

TO HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

My political antecedents are known to you. Always a democrat, but never a pro-slavery democrat; opposed in principle and feeling, from my youth up, to human slavery, but believing, until recently, that, in the interests of liberty itself, it was the part of wisdom in the North to abstain from interference with the danger-fraught domestic institution of the South, and to trust to time for its eradication; opposed, with a hereditary aversion, to war, I was willing, before the sword was drawn, to make any honorable concessions that might avert its horrors.

But political convulsions bring with them great lessons and new duties. War would not, under the Divine economy, have been permitted, as in all past ages it has been, if it had not its mission. But to attain the good it brings we must recognize its necessity.

No civil war of proportions so gigantic as that now raging ever existed in the world before. It differs from all others, both in the results sure to ensue from its protraction beyond a brief period, and in the condition under which, out of evil, it may eventuate in good. In calculating these, time is an essential element.

Seven or eight hundred millions are spent. At the best, as much more is likely to go.—Two thousand millions or upwards is not an improbable total. That is half the national debt of England; and the interest on it (probably at almost double the rate she pays) will make our annual burden nearly equal to hers. If the war lasts three years longer, these figures may be doubled. It must not last three years longer, unless we are willing to risk National bankruptcy.

How is it to be terminated?

By concession? That is no longer in our power. We can buy a truce, a pause, by concession to the South; nothing more.

By force of arms, then? But if, by force it must be quickly done. Delay is defeat.

And it must be effectually done. After one such war the nation may revive, its energies still elastic; solvent still, and respected. A second will ruin it financially, to say nothing of worse ruin. To save the country, then, the war must not terminate without a sufficient guaranty against its resumption.

How can the war be quickly and effectually terminated? What guaranty is sufficient, that it will not be resumed?

Gradually, very gradually, as this contest proceeded, have I been approaching the conviction that there is but one guaranty: the emancipation of negro slaves throughout this continent. Perhaps—but as to this I am less certain—that measure is the only sure means of terminating, quickly and effectually, this war. The recent reverse under Gen. McClellan, the scattered rebel lines daily bursting forth in the states which our forces had already overrun, the fact that we are fighting against brave men of our own race, all increase the probability that we must deprive the South of a legal right to its four millions of laborers, before we can succeed against their masters in a reasonable time and in an effectual manner.

I am not an advocate of revolutionary short-cuts out of a difficulty. I am not in favor of violating the constitution by way of escaping a danger. There might be immediate advantage, but the precedent is replete with peril.

Could slavery have been abolished in the northern action, while peace yet existed between the North and South, without a violation of the constitution? In other words, without a revolutionary act? Clearly not. Can slavery be eradicated now, in war, without such violation? If emancipation be necessary to ensure the permanent peace and safety of our government, and if we are willing to pay to all loyal slave owners a reasonable price for their slaves, clearly yes.

For no principle in law is better established than this, that when important public interests demand it, private property may be

taken, at a fair appraisement, for public use, the opening of a street in improving a city the ruining of a railroad, are held in this and other civilized countries, to be objects of sufficient importance to justify what the French law calls *'appropriation forcée pour cause d'utilité publique'*.

But of importance how utterly trivial is the opening of a street or a railroad compared to the preservation, in its integrity, of the greatest republic upon earth!

Ought we to declare general emancipation, coupled with a provision for the payment, to all loyal slaveholders, of the fairly appraised value of their slaves? This question resolves itself into another: Have things gone so far that the Union, in its peaceful integrity, and negro-slavery within its borders, can no longer co-exist? That is THE GREAT QUESTION OF THE DAY. I think it must be answered, even now, in the affirmative. Every month that passes is converting hundreds of thousands of moderate and conservative peace-loving men to the same opinion. They despair of sectional friendship or national peace, until the teeming cause of mortal hatred and civil war is rooted out for ever.

Have we the means of paying loyal slave-owners a fair price for their slaves? If we act now, before a protracted contest has exhausted our resources, yes. If we await the termination of a three or four years' war, very certainly, no.

In that price deportation must not be estimated. The South asserts that negro slaves are indispensable to her. That is only so far true, that she does absolutely need hired negro workmen, and ought not to be deprived of them. Her agriculture would, for a time, be ruined without them. But no good man desires a settlement under which any section of our country would be even temporarily ruined.

Nor can it be doubted that the South, however strong her prejudices and traditions in favor of owning her laborers, has herself been brought, by the perils of the hour, to think seriously of a change of system as the only means left her to obtain aid and comfort from Europe. Nor can all her leaders be wholly blind to the fact that such a change of system would advance, in the end, beyond calculation, her material prosperity.

Suppose a declaration, to the effect that the government urged by the necessity of self-preservation, takes, at a fair valuation, the slave property of the South! Will such a declaration cause a negro insurrection and indiscriminate assassination of whites throughout the slave States? The result, so far, has shown that the negro, mild and long suffering, and often attached to his owner, is little disposed to resist, under an organization of his own. Once assured of freedom, he will gradually join our cause—that is all. He can then be hired as laborer or soldier, as may seem fit—payment being made for him if his master proves to be loyal, and his services being confiscated if these are due to a rebel.—In all this we are clearly in our right.

Look now at the question in its foreign aspect, under the chances of European intervention. Be those chances great or small, intervention may occur, and that are long.

If it occur, its character will chiefly depend upon what shall have been the antecedent action of our Government in regard to slavery.

If, previously to such intervention, we shall have issued a general declaration of emancipation, then we shall stand before Europe as the champions of human liberty, while our enemies will be regarded as the advocates of human servitude. Public opinion in England, in France and throughout Europe, generally will then prevent the respective governments from intervening except it be in our favor.—No European government dare place itself in the attitude of a slavery protector.

If on the contrary, we shall have left the issue as it now stands, our policy indicated only by the Confiscation act, not broadly and boldly announced, and more especially if the South, despairing of saving her favorite institution, concedes, as the price of foreign re-

cognition and support, a voluntary system of gradual emancipation—not at all an unlikely move—then the sympathy of public opinion throughout Europe will be with the South, and will sustain any action in her favor.

Think, too, in such an event, how false our position! how low we shall have fallen in the eyes of the world! how unenviable the place, we shall occupy in history through all time.

It is idle gasconade to say, that thus situated, we can defy Europe. Let the South, by conceding emancipation, secure the sympathy and the permanent services of her four millions of laborers, without action of ours; then throw into the scale against us the thirty millions of England, the forty millions of France,—and who shall say how many tens of millions besides?—and what chance for success, or for reputation, shall we have, struggling for nothing nobler than self-existence, in equivocal attitude before the world, matched against opponents who shall have forestalled us and assumed the initiative of progress?

While the contest assumes no higher character than that of a portion of a great nation desiring a separation from the mother country and forcibly casting off its authority, what more sympathy can we expect from Europe than we ourselves gave to Spain when she lost Mexico, or to Mexico when Texas struck for independence? Until the issue is changed, so that the great question of human liberty becomes involved in it, we must expect from European powers at the best only indifference; coupled, probably, with the feeling that as Mexico succeeded against Spain, and Texas against Mexico, so will a Southern Confederacy succeed against us.

That a declaration of emancipation was not issued a year ago, I do not regret. Great changes must mature in public opinion before they can be safely carried out. Extreme measures, to be justified and to be effectual, must often be preceded by long tried conciliation. Yet in national emergencies it may be as dangerous to disappoint as to anticipate public opinion. And I confess my fears for the result if decisive measures are longer delayed.

Stand where we are we cannot; and to go on is less dangerous than to retrace our steps. We ought never to have proposed emancipation with compensation to loyal slave owners, nor declared to the disloyal, as by law we have, that their slaves shall be liberated without compensation, if we did not intend to follow out the policy we commenced. We have incurred the odium; let us reap the benefit.

Nor do I perceive how we can free the slaves of rebels, yet reasonably expect to retain slavery in the border States, even in case they persist in refusing the offer of the President. Having intervened so far, extirpation of slavery, the only effectual policy, becomes the safest also.

All men in the North will not acquiesce. Neither did all acquiesce when the war was commenced; yet who that is loyal opposes it now? And what would have been the result had we waited, ere we commenced the war, for unanimity.

Some will fall off. So be it? There is small loss in that. And there is some gain. Better an open enemy than a worthless friend. It is time that men were taking sides. As things now stand I see no use in conciliating the half loyal. He who is not for us is against us.

I think the people are ready. I believe that the loyal citizens of the North, with such small proportion of exceptions as in radical national changes must be disregarded, are to-day prepared for emancipation. They have paid for it in treasure, in blood; not by their option. They feel that the sacrifices they have made, and have still to make, are too vast to have been incurred, except in purchase of a great pledge of perpetual safety and peace.

Reflecting men feel, too, that such a pledge is a national, not merely a northern, necessity. The South, exhausted and suffering,

needs it to the full as much as we. She will soon perceive, if she does not already, that two parts of one nation, or even two conterminous nations, can never again exist in amity on this continent, one slave and the other free. She cannot but see that fugitive slave law difficulties, if no others existed, would suffice to prevent this.

It is not the question whether a paper declaration, easily issued, will or will not be followed by a thousand practical difficulties.—The uprooting of an ancient and gigantic abuse always involves such. Nor should we be called upon to predict in advance (for who can entirely foresee?) how each of these will ultimately be solved. The true question is, whether greater difficulties, even insuperable ones, do not beset any other policy. Pressed home as we are, to avoid obstacles is impossible. We can but select the least formidable. The lives of the best of us are spent in choosing between evils.

When dangers surround us, we must walk, in a measure, by faith. Let us do what we can, and leave to God the issue. We may best trust to Him when we enter his path of progress. He aids those who walk in it.

I feel assured that final success awaits us in pursuing such a path. And I see no other road out of the darkness.

ROBERT DALE OWEN.

New York, July 23, 1862.

LETTER FROM THE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE TO GEN. RALPH H. H.

The following from the Executive Committee of the Democratic League of New York, was sent to Gen. Hunter on Friday:

NEW YORK, Aug. 7, 1862.

Major General Hunter, Port Royal, S. C.:

DEAR SIR: The undersigned, the Executive Committee of the Democratic League of this city, tender you their respects, as well as thanks, for the stand taken by you in your late letter to Rev. Dr. Tyng.

The committee appreciate your force of reasoning, and the necessity of a decided policy on the part of the Government, the people and military authorities.

The conflict now going on is a broader one than is commonly imagined. It is a league on the one hand between slaveholders, allied with European aristocracy, to denationalize republican government in a large portion of the United States; on the other hand, it is the democratic principle in the free government struggling against the combined antagonisms of a privileged class, in order to maintain its ascendancy in the entire Union. This is the great issue, and all other matters are merely incidental agencies to work out the result upon the main question.

It was truly said by Mr. Garnett, of Virginia, in a letter to Mr. Trescott, of South Carolina, written in 1851: 'You well object to the term democracy. Democracy, in its original and philosophical sense, is indeed incompatible with slavery, and the whole system of Southern society.' This declaration embraces the platform of the Southern rebellion. It constituted the entire basis of reasoning that started the seeds of rebellion into growth, and which, in the space of thirty years nurtured treason into culmination.—The political adventurers and slaveholders South, and the more intelligent portion of the people North, understand this question alike. Were it generally and well understood there would be little difficulty in settling the question at once, through the arbitrament of preponderating force. If the twenty-six or seven millions composing the mass of free labor North and South understood the question in its true light, the whole matter would be disposed of with little more effusion of blood.—Its settlement would also result in a firmer and better establishment of the principles of free Government.

Slavery perpetuation through the abrogation of a Government of majorities is the war platform of the so-called Confederate Government. The idea of slavery perpetuation upon the ruins and prostration of the democratic principle is the stimulating virus

that is now sustaining the desperate efforts of the Southern conspiracy. Whether we are fighting to preserve the cause of the rebellion, while attempting to crush the rebellion itself; whether we are fighting to maintain human bondage, while rebels are making the continuation of such bondage the cause of war, are questions that now seem pertinent. If we are fighting to maintain the democratic principle, shall we succeed best by upholding or by overthrowing its antagonisms?

It seems to us that your letter contains a clear and concise view of the question. We much fear that nothing but the increased effusion of blood, growing out of the present confusion in the public mind, will bring the people to unanimity as to the direction of the blows which must be struck before this warfare closes.

With ardent wishes for the welfare of the country, and many personal regards to yourself, we are very truly yours, &c.

Chas. P. Kirkland, John J. Speed,
Thos. Ewhank, Geo. P. Nelson,
Henry O'Rielly, Henry C. Gardiner,
Lorenzo Sherwood, Pierrepont Isham,
Executive Committee.

PERSECUTION OF NEGROES.

Months ago, when the Rebel cause seemed at its last gasp, its partisans in the loyal States were secretly impelled to get up a diversion in its favor by instigating riotous assaults on the unarmed and comparatively defenseless Blacks of our Northern cities. In furtherance of this plot, stories were started that thousands of negroes at Washington, Fortress Monroe, and elsewhere, were being subsisted in idleness at the public cost; next, that fugitive slaves were so abundant in Chester County, Pa. and its vicinity, that they were taking the bread out of the mouths of white laborers by working for ten cents per day! This was of course a falsehood, as the absence of laboring men in the army has produced a scarcity of laborers in Chester County, as almost everywhere else; no tolerably efficient white laborer having failed of finding constant employment there at \$1 to \$1½ per day. We published repeated and explicit contradictions of the lie, but to no purpose—the ignorant, stolid, envious wretches who could be impelled to assault and despoil the poor fugitives, taking good care never to look into The Tribune.

Attacks on the negro population were commenced weeks ago at Cincinnati, and have since been tried at Evansville, Ind., and Toledo, Ohio. In the latter place, they have been traced directly to the instigation of emissaries from this City. Probably no one has given them a whisper of encouragement who would not split his throat in cheering; Jeff Davis if that potentate should ride by him in triumph.

The recent attack on the negro women and children employed in a tobacco manufactory at Brooklyn is most disgraceful to our sister city, and—if it be true that they were forewarned of it—to our Metropolitan Police, or at least to the Brooklyn branch of it. That a ruffian mob should be enabled to hold women and children in mortal terror for hours, gratifying meantime their groundless malice by earnest and all but successful attempts to roast them alive in their workshop, is a stain which Brooklyn will not soon efface.

The Black population of this country have been here for generations. They were brought here by force, and it is now gravely proposed that they be expelled by like force. We believe they can do better in tropical regions than here, and we shall advise them to migrate when they can do so freely; but, so long as they shall be persecuted and abused here with intent to drive them into exile, we trust they will stand upon their rights as men and natives of the country, and utterly refuse to go.

It is a standing complaint that negroes will not work, and some of them justify it. These, however, are seldom exposed to Democratic abuse and assault. The industrious and frugal, who earn their own living and mind their

own business, are almost always selected for ill usage. Those who can find nothing to do are cursed as paupers and consumers of unearned bread; but let one of them go to work, and at once he becomes an object of Democratic malevolence and mendacity. He is working too cheaply, or he has a job that a White man would like, or some other ground of assault is imagined or invented. It would be sheer affectation to seem not to see that all this negro-hate is fomented with vote-catching intent by the basest and most unprincipled school of politicians that God in His inscrutable wisdom ever permitted to curse a country. Those 'nurseries of Democracy,' the grog-shops—and mainly the worst of them—supply the impelling force, the motive power, of every anti-negro mob. The calculation is that every such mob yields some griet to the Democratic mill. The leaders who are so fierce for 'the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the negroes as they are—' and of whom it would take as many to put down a Pro-Slavery Rebellion as of snowballs to boil a teakettle—regard these anti-negro riots with serene complacency. Had Wood continued Mayor of our City, with a Police to match, we should have had any number of them on this side of the East River. Should they be attempted now, we trust they will be signally punished: if not, the Police Board and its subordinates will suffer seriously in public estimation. Let every rascal who incites, however slyly, an attack upon the humble, defenseless Blacks of our City, be arrested and brought to punishment.

Meantime, let us be thankful that the sympathy still cherished in the Free States for the Slaveholders' Rebellion dare take no form more decided or less cowardly than that of attacks on poor negroes for the crime of earning honest bread. 'The sum of all villainies has still many devotees among us: let us rejoice that their large ambition and deadly hate can find no broader, braver outlet than this—N. Y. Tribune.

WORDS IN SEASON.—The *Lounger*, in the last number of Harper's Weekly, says:

'Let us suppress the abolitionists,' cries some slack-witted orator, 'and the rebellion will end!' Of course it will, you dear soul; and if all your fellow citizens had been of your calibre and kidney, there would have been no rebellion at all. Hampden and his friends had said, 'Let us suppress these fellows who cry out against ship-money,' England would have quietly submitted to the tyranny of the Stuarts. If Otis and Patrick Henry had shouted, Hurrah for King George and the Stamp Act! there would have been no bloody revolution. If Mirabeau and the French people had bellowed, Hurrah for starvation; aristocrats forever! all the trouble in France would have speedily ended. To be sure, every right would have been annihilated, every liberty destroyed and a few rich and remorseless people would have governed France, but there would have been no difficulty, except moral rot and general national decay.

'Let us suppress the abolitionists!' But suppose you begin at the beginning. First subdue the common sense of the people of the country; then you may subdue those who influence it. It is not what you call, with an amusing persistence, abolitionism, which caused the war, but the opening of the eyes of the people, so that they see. The people of this country know perfectly well that slavery is at the bottom of this rebellion. If there had been no slavery there would have been no war; just as there would have been no abolitionism.—The temperance movement springs from drunkenness; and when a drunken man tries to kill his wife, don't you think that the teetotalers are responsible for it?

'Slavery was trying to kill the country. It had almost succeeded. Watch! watch!' shouted the abolitionists. Slavery, maddened that its crime was discovered, shot and stabbed right and left. 'There! there!' cry the sensible Wickliffe and Company—'this comes of calling the watch! Why the devil can't you hold your tongues? Let us suppress these fellows that cry watch! watch! and all will be quiet again!'

'Certainly; a dead dog or a dead nation are not perfectly quiet. And a nation of freemen throttled, with its own consent, by a slave system like ours, is the dearest and meanest of all dead dogs.'

THE PRESIDENT IN CONFERENCE WITH A COMMITTEE OF COLORED MEN.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14.—This afternoon the President of the United States gave audience to a committee of colored men at the White House. They were introduced by Rev. J. H. Mitchell, commissioner of Emigration.

E. M. Thomas, the chairman, remarked that they were there by invitation to hear what the Executive had to say to them.

Having all been seated, the President, after a few elementary remarks, informed them that a sum of money had been appropriated by Congress and placed at his disposition for the purpose of aiding the colonization in some country, of the people, or a portion of them, of African descent, thereby making it his duty, as it had for a long time been his inclination to favor that cause, and why, he asked, should the people of your race be colonized, and where? Why should they leave this country? This is perhaps the first question for proper consideration. You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races.—Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffer very greatly many of them by being among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated. You are all freemen, I suppose.

A voice—Yes, yes.

The President—Perhaps you have been free all your lives. Your race are suffering in my judgment, the greatest wrong indicted upon any people. But when you cease to be slaves, you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race.—You are cut off from many of the advantages which the other race enjoy. The aspiration of man is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent not a single man of your race is made equal with a single man of ours. (To where you are treated the best and the ban is still upon you.

I do not propose to discuss this, but to present it as a fact with which we have to deal. I cannot alter it if I would. It is a fact about which we all feel and think alike. We look to our condition, to owing the existence of the two races on this continent. I need not recount to you the effects upon white men growing out of the institution of slavery. I believe in its general evil effects upon the white race. See our present condition—the country engaged in war, our white men cutting each other throats, none knowing how far it will extend, and then consider what we know to be the truth. But for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other.

Nevertheless, I repeat, but for the institution of slavery and the colored races as a basis, this war could not have an existence. It is better for us therefore, to be separated. I know that there are free men among you who, even if they could better their condition, are not much inclined to go out of the country, as those who being slaves could obtain their freedom on this condition.

I suppose one of the principal difficulties in the way of colonization, is that the free colored man cannot see that his comfort would be advanced by it. You may believe you can live in Washington, or elsewhere in the United States, the remainder of your lives, perhaps, more to your comfort than you can in any foreign country, and hence you come to the conclusion that you have nothing to do with the idea of going to a foreign country.

This I speak in no unkind sense and selfish view of the case, but you ought to do something to help those who are not so fortunate as yourselves.

There is an unwillingness on the part of our people, harsh at it may be, for you free-colored people to remain with us. Now if you could give a start to the white people, you would open a door for many to be made free.

If we deal with those who are not free at the beginning, and those whose interests are clouded by slavery, we have very poor material to start with. If intelligent colored men, such as are before me, would move in this matter, much might be accomplished. It is exceedingly important, that we have men at the beginning capable of thinking as white men, and not those who have been systematically opposed.

There is much to encourage you. For the sake of your race, you should sacrifice something of your present comfort, for the purpose of being as grand in that respect as the white people. It is a cheering thought throughout life, that something can be done to ameliorate the condition of those who have been subject to the hard usage of the world. It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels he is worthy of himself, and claims kindred to the great God who made him. In the American Revolutionary war sacrifices were made by men engaged in it, but they were cheered by the future. Gen. Washington, himself, endured greater physical hardships than it he had remained a British subject; yet he was a happy man, because he was engaged in benefiting his race—something for the benefit of the children of his neighbors, having none of his own.

The Colony of Liberia has been in existence a long time. In a certain sense, it is a success. The old President of Liberia, Mr. Roberts has just been with me, the first time I ever saw him. He says they have, within the bounds of between Colony, the 300,000 and 400,000 people, or more than in some of our old States, such as Rhode Island and Delaware, or in some of our new States, and less than in some of our larger ones. They are not all Colonists, nor their descendants. Something less than 1,200 have been sent thither from this country. Many of the original settlers have died, yet, like people elsewhere, their offspring outnumber those deceased.

The question is, if the colored people are persuaded to go anywhere, why not there.—Our reason for unwillingness to do so, is that some of you would rather remain within reach of the country of your nativity. I do not know how much attachment you may have toward our race. It does not strike me that you have the greatest reason to love them.—But still you are attached to them at all events.

The place I am thinking about, having a colony, is Central America. It is no more than one fourth as far as Liberia, and within seven days by steamer. Unlike Liberia, it is on a great line of travel. It is a highway.—The country is a very excellent one for any people, and with great material resources and advantages, and especially because of the similarity of the climate of your native land, thus being suited to your physical condition.

The particular place I have in view is to be a great highway from the Atlantic or Caribbean sea to the Pacific ocean, and this particular place has all the advantages of a colony. On both sides there are harbors among the first in the world.

Again there is evidence of very rich coal mines. A certain amount of coal may be valuable in a country, and there are more than enough for the wants of the country. Why I attach so much importance to coal is it will afford an opportunity to the inhabitants for immediate employment till they get ready to settle permanently in their homes. If you take colonists where there is no good landing there is a bad show, and so where there is nothing to cultivate, and of which to make a farm. But if something is started so that you can get your daily bread as soon as you get there, it is a great advantage. Coal land is the best thing I know of with which to commence an enterprise.

To return—You have been talked to upon this subject, and told that a speculation is intended by gentlemen who have an interest in the country including the coal mines. We have been mistaken all our lives, if we did not know that whites as well as blacks look to their own interests. Unless among those who

are deficient of intellect, every body you trade with make something. You meet with these things here and elsewhere. If such persons have what will be an advantage to them, the question is, whether it cannot be made of advantage to you. You are intelligent, and know that success does not so much depend upon external help as on self-reliance. Much therefore depends upon yourselves.

As to the coal mines, I think I see the means available for your self-reliance. I shall, if I get a sufficient number of you engaged, have provisions made that you shall not be wronged. If you will engage in the enterprise, I will spend some of the money entrusted to me. I am not sure you will succeed. The government may lose the money; but we cannot succeed unless we try. But we think with care we can succeed.

The political affairs in Central America, are not in quite as satisfactory a condition as I wish. There are contending factions in that quarter, but it is true all the factions are all agreed alike on the subject of colonization, and want it, and are more generous than we are here. To your colored race they have no objections. Besides, I would endeavor to have you made equals, and have the best assurance that you would be the equals of the best. The particular thing I want to ascertain is, whether I can get a number of able-bodied men, with their wives and children, who are willing to go where I present evidence of encouragement and protection. Could I get a hundred tolerably intelligent men, with their wives and children, and cut their own fodder, so to speak? Can I have fifty? If I could have twenty five able-bodied men with a mixture of women and children—good things in the family relation—I think I could make a successful commencement. I want you to let me know whether this can be done? This is the practical part of my wish to see you. These are subjects of very great importance, worthy of a month's study.

I ask you, then, to consider seriously, not pertaining to yourselves merely, nor for your race and ours for the present time, but as one of the things if successfully managed for the good of mankind; not confined to the present generation, but as "From age to age descends the lay to millions yet to be, Till far its echoes roll away into eternity."

The above is merely given as the substance of the President's remarks.

The Chairman of the delegate replied briefly that they would hold a consultation, and in a short time give an answer.

The President—Take your full time; no hurry at all.

The delegation then withdrew.

CAUSE AND EFFECT.

SIR.—It is notorious, that in punning style of our ancestors, "effects defective come by cause." The difference between the man who so far as his own conduct is concerned makes the best of this world, and the multitude who do the contrary, lies chiefly in the knowledge, that as you sow for the most part you must reap. Sometimes the good seed perishes and tares come up but very rarely indeed it is, that men gather figs of thistles.

History is God's horn-book, for teaching wisdom to the simple. It would be curious to see how the history of the world will look, in the eyes of men of the twentieth or twenty-first century. When all that was to be made by dishonest wars is eaten, and the dead are buried out of sight, will be the time when things will be reduced to their true value, and a calm judgment be passed upon the thing that was and what it might have been.

When for instance it is found recorded that a deed of shame and folly like the attack in most damnable company on Mexico, could not produce a House of forty members in the Commons, strange will be the meditations of the then tenants of the then tenants of the earth. Their rough conclusion will be, that we were all rogues together; and we shall none of us be there, to put in a plea for our

selves. A word of claptrap from a minister and perhaps a jest will have It was one of the little de hard to deny a minister, as it would be to stint him in his lumps of sugar at breakfast. A force of Englishmen was sent out without justice and came back without honor; but far be it for forty gentlemen of the present build, to wait the hearing.

Posterity on this, seeing the effect, will be apt to ask the cause. And the answer will be, it was because the men who did not think worth while to hear, were not the men to pay. They were in the main, the delegates of another set, to wit of men like themselves.— They more or less held on by the tail of the general plan for employing the military and naval force in dishonest jobs against the weak. They were men who laughed in their sleeves at the goodness of the joke, of sending a written order to preserve neutrality for production to parliament, and an apostille in the corner to intimate to the commander of a sloop of war to get fired upon and then proceed to action. The representatives who endured this, will point to a state of trustworthiness, paralleled only by their knowledge, when they applied themselves to giggle at the notion that the less the nation had expended, the more it had to spend. And this will direct posterity's keen eye, to the facts, by that time perhaps amended, that the representation was to a great extent no representation, but a system of violence, like opening every man's letter at the post office; and that the taxes were levied on the poor and not on the rich by the invention of a rate increasing to an extent which will be held fabulous, in proportion to the cheapness of the class of article consumed.

Take another instance, of the connection between what is done, and what comes of it. When the southern States of America broke into rebellion and invaded the North in precautionary defense of slavery, you might have been spared the distress and anxiety consequent on the interruption of your supplies, if a minister with a head upon his shoulders would have said to the Northern States, Put your rebellion down quick. You have only to appeal to the four millions who are your friends, and the thing is done. Your officers will do it in a fortnight, only let them. Instead of this insulting transmissions by the "Great Ship," and an expedition to Mexico because it was known to be the shabbiest and most keenly felt advantage taken of America's division. Everybody flew out for slavery. Termagant women from Wellington would have sent by the dozen to beat hemp, trained in the domestic pollution which of necessity is in the aggregate inherent in slaveholding families, became the objects of chivalrous admiration. No stone was left unturned, to prevent your consummation. And so you are as you are. When anybody eats thin porridge, remember it was because nobody would go the way that could, and nobody could that would.

One word more, to be received or not, as you see reason. Do not think too lightly of military officers. They have their faults and many. But they are educated to call a post a post, and not run against it with their eyes open. And they put their lives upon the cast; which has considerable effect in sharpening a man's wits. The American generals would have walked out of their distress and yours, in the quickest time practised in the army. But it might not be. There was provision as in the Corporal celebrated in Irish military song who "married a wife to make him uneasy."— Nobody doubts the general propriety of the military authority being directed by the civil. But this does not excuse the civil for sacrificing the country to the aspirations of foreigners to divide. Here too cause will produce effect. Which they who live will see. May it be favorable to you and to our friends.— Be of good hope; Fremont and Hunter will save you yet.

Yours sincerely,
T. PERRONE THOMPSON.

Eliot Vale, Blackheath, July 31, 1862.

THE WHITE MAN'S WAR.

A fire broke out in Lake street last night about eleven o'clock. The wind was blowing a gale. The steam engines, from long disuse were inefficient. The firemen from the same cause were blundering in their operations, and the orders issued by the captains of the different machines were contradictory and damaging. The flames, unchecked roared and leaped so many demons of destruction, and as they swept eastward towards the lake, westward towards the south branch, and northward over Water street, and among the shipping at the docks, laid anything low that they embraced. The banks, the splendid temples of commerce which the industry and taste of our merchants had reared, the dwellings of the rich and the humbler tenements of the poor, the shops of the artisans and the offices of the professional men, numberless hotels, a theatre, a lecture room and lyceum, were taken up by the lurid heat and dissipated in flame and smoke. The ruin was immense; but the destruction of human life was appalling. The falling of every roof was an announcement that a company of gallant firemen, and hundreds of citizens who had volunteered to assist in stifling the destroyer, had been killed. The scene was terrific. Mothers went up and down the lurid streets seeking their sons. Fathers in agony assisted in bearing loved ones to homes that they were to honor no more. A wail filled the city from end to end, and thousands not of women only but strong men prayed as if their last day had come. But neither work nor prayers stayed the destruction, and by and by the ranks of the helpers grew thin. The dead and maimed could work no more, and the others grew tired with the superhuman toil. Just before day, hardly an hour before we went to press, a thousand black men living in the South Division, roused by the clangor of bells, the cries of the wounded, and the roar of the elements, came and offered their aid in beating back and subduing the conflagration. They had lived long in the city; they knew it well; they were fresh healthy and accustomed to toil; they were eager to help, and everybody knew that they were in earnest in their offers. But higher than the conflict of fire and water, above the din of machinery, the groans of the wounded, the shrieks of women and the deep groans of men, rose the contentment over the offer that the black men made. "D—n the niggers," cried out the men who were more than suspected of being the incendiaries: "Let them go home and do their tasks—this is a white man's fire!"— At this point, while the fire is still burning, and the clamor in progress, we are obliged to go to press. God grant that our next issue may bring to our readers the settlement of the question on the side of public safety and humanity. A rumor comes that it is likely the blacks may be allowed to work to the leeward with housepails. An elderly gentleman named Browning opposes even this. The fire is still making good headway as we close.—*Chicago Tribune.*

FIRST OF AUGUST AT MYRICKS.

There was a large attendance at the Union Mass Meeting at Myrick's station, yesterday. Nearly one thousand persons went from this city. The assembly was called to order by William H. Johnson, of this city, and organized by the appointment of the following officers:

President—Hon. Rodney French.
Vice Presidents—Reva J. Girdwood, Wm. Jackson, T. R. Dennison, of this city, Rev. Mr. Jackson of Lakeville, Wm. Bush, Dan'l Ricketson, A. W. Monroe, of this city, and C. R. Goodman of Fall River.

Secretaries—Lewis H. Douglass, of Rochester, N. Y., and Wm. H. Johnson of this city.

Business Committee—D. Ricketson, Rev. Wm. Jackson, and C. R. Goodman.

The President on taking the chair, delivered a stirring speech, and was followed by the Rev. Mr. Girdwood, Mr. Goodman, Mr.

Moulton of this city, and Frederick Douglass of Rochester N. Y. The speakers each and all were in favor of using the most vigorous means to put down the rebellion, calling upon every young man to shoulder his musket and march to the conflict.

The following resolutions were adopted:—
Whereas, in the present war between the North and South, it is in vain to ignore slavery as the cause, and consequently its removal as the only means of restoring peace and prosperity to our nation, therefore:

Resolved, That this is a war of slavery against Freedom; that we have an implacable enemy to deal with in the slave power, and that no measures except those of the most thorough and radical nature can qualify us to combat with the same and secure us success.

Resolved, secondly, That it is the imperative duty of the President of the United States to immediately make use of the authority with which he is invested under the "war power," and in the language of John Quincy Adams, "ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES."

Resolved, That measures should be immediately taken, either by a special session of our Legislature or otherwise as may be lawful or proper, to remove all disqualifications from our statute books relative to the full recognition of the colored man's right to citizenship, and particularly for the end and purpose of enrolling him as a soldier upon equal terms with all other citizens. Furthermore,

Resolved, That we cannot expect the blessing of Divine Providence upon our armies unless our object be to secure the sacred right of Freedom to all who shall come under the Government of our future national Commonwealth.

In the evening there was a meeting in Salem Baptist Church, in this city, which was addressed by Mr. Douglass, Mr. French, T. R. Dennison and W. H. Johnson, and singing by the children.—*New Bedford (Mass.) Standard.*

—The subscriptions made to the Volunteer Fund in Philadelphia are swelling every day. On Tuesday, 12th, they amounted to nearly \$400,000. The separate subscriptions to different regiments, will add about \$100,000 more. The railroad subscriptions are \$84,000. The army appropriation is \$500,000. Thus, nearly \$1,100,000 has been given by the government, the corporations and the citizens of Philadelphia for the purpose of assisting the national government in raising troops, and the contributions have not yet ceased.

—Three powerful and impregnable iron-clad gunboats, named respectively the *Ohllicothé*, *Indiana* and *Tuscumbia* are now building and nearly completed—the two former at Cincinnati, and the latter at New Albany, Indiana. The three boats named are of the Monitor order; that is, their armaments are carried in turrets, impregnablely encased in iron, while every part of the hulls in any manner exposed to shot is guarded with heavy iron plates several feet below the water line.

—The Worcester Transcript says a young recruit of that city last week obtained leave to go home and see his family. Proceeding to the back yard he deliberately took an axe and cut off the first three fingers of his left hand. After the wound was dressed he claimed exemption from returning to service on the ground of inability to do duty, but Col. Wells declines to exempt him. He must go to the war, the lengthening stock of his company, if only fit to be hewer of wood and drawer of water.

—In a recent rebel letter, a gifted son of the South speaks of a fight on the "pernicherler."

—The fees of the Marshal of the district of Columbia will amount this year to the trifling sum of \$100,000.

THE DISGRACEFUL RIOT IN BROOKLYN.

Brooklyn, the city of churches and noble charities, is usually so well behaved, we could scarcely credit the report that a riot had actually taken place there; but a careful and impartial investigation of facts shows that the fair fame of our sister city has been sullied by a riotous mob of half-drunken and ignorant white men and women, whose jealousy of the blacks was kindled by a fight, on Saturday afternoon, between a negro and a white man in front of a grog-shop. The negro had taken a bill to the liquor-shop to get it exchanged for postage stamps or small coin, and was standing on the threshold, when a white man of the name of Spaulding pushed him aside. The indignity was resented by hard words, which soon ripened into hard blows, and the negro had the best of the fight, when Policeman Oats interfered and separated the belligerents. The idea of a white man being whipped by a black man was a source of humiliation too grievous to be endured. Sunday being a day of leisure, grog-shop and street-corner committees had the subject of retaliation under discussion and finally determined to mob the black women and children on Monday, while the majority of the men were absent at a public demonstration at Myrtle-avenue Park, in another part of the city.

On Monday forenoon three or four scouts, wishing to ascertain the strength of the 'enemy,' called at Mr. Lorillard's tobacco factory, and were denied admittance. The foreman, anticipating trouble, sent all the colored persons in his employment at their homes, and closed the front doors and windows of the establishment. Soon a committee of eight Irishmen effected an entrance, and searched the premises for 'nagers,' but finding none, they retired for reinforcements, which were easily obtained. They soon returned with thirty or forty other rioters, and forthwith commenced hurling bricks and paving-stones at the doors of windows of Mr. Watson's shop, in which two sets of hands are employed—a set of white hands under a white foreman, and a set of black hands under a black foreman. These parties work side by side without quarreling or jealousy.

In this factory where the fire originated seventy-five persons are employed, of whom fifty are colored and twenty-five white. The establishment was started eight years ago, and some of the negroes employed there at the time of the row have been faithful workers from the commencement of the concern. Negroes have always been employed in Mr. Lorillard's establishment, which is next door but one to Mr. Watson's; but there have been no sign of disturbance there before, although it has been in operation eight or nine years.

At the time of the commencement of this riot, which was 12 o'clock at noon on Monday, the white employees of the establishment had gone to their dinners—and there were only twenty colored persons within the walls of the building, five of whom were men, and the remainder women and children. These colored employees not having homes in the neighborhood, had brought their dinners with them, and were quietly eating at the time of assault.

Scarcely had the first missile been hurled by the leaders of the gang, when four or five hundred men and boys, some of them intoxicated, came rushing with shouts and yells toward the factory, from the vicinity of Columbia and Harrison streets, and at once surrounded the building, crying out, 'Down with the nagers,' 'Turn out the nagers,' some of them entering the lower story to look for the objects of their hatred. The mob continued to increase until it numbered thousands. Although it was well known for hours before this time that a riot was contemplated, no additional police force was sent to the neighborhood. The two officers, Oats and Burns, who belong to that beat, were on hand, but they could not control a drunken and infuriated mob. The negroes, who were on the upper floor, barricaded the stairway in the

best manner they could, and then threw at their assailants, when they attempted to approach them, whatever they could find at hand. In this way these five men and fifteen women kept the mob at bay for two hours, until Inspector Folk, with a strong detachment of policemen, made his appearance.

Just before the arrival of the police force the rioters finding it impossible to get at the negroes, at the suggestion of a grogseller near by, determined to set fire to the building and roast the niggers alive. A pot of licorice and whisky, which was mistaken for tar, was emptied, and an attempt was made to set it on fire, but the flame was put out by the police.

While Officer Donnelly was standing at the foot of the stairs keeping the rioters away, he received a wound on the head from a box thrown by a colored man named Baker, at the rioters. The police finally drove away the rioters, and arrested Patrick Canina, the grogseller, who is charged with arson and riot; Michael Maher, Wm. Morris. John Long Charles Baker (colored,) Charles Baylis, Thomas Clark, Jos. Flood, Patrick Day, and Elias P. Riddle.

The rumor that fifty negroes had armed themselves with pistols purchased at a gun shop on Court street on Tuesday morning is untrue. It is not true that the negroes insulted white women in the neighborhood of the factory, as reported by *The Herald*. That report was circulated on Sunday by a number of evil-disposed fellows, who lounged about the liquor shops in that vicinity for the purpose of creating the riot that followed. It is not true that the Irish assaulted the negroes because they had taken up their residence in that neighborhood, for the negroes live in New York and on the outskirts of Brooklyn. It is not true that they are a poor, shiftless set, unable to take care of themselves, or that they caused this disgraceful riot.

The riot raged from 12 o'clock until about half-past 2, when it was quelled by the police. Why did not the police officers in charge of that district, knowing as they must have known that a row was anticipated, send a force there to protect the lives and property of peaceable citizens?

After the riot commenced, why were the police authorities so slow to move? It is not more than twenty minutes' walk from the City Hall in Brooklyn to the tobacco manufacturing, near the corner of Columbia and Sedgwick streets, where the riot occurred. When this force arrived, why did it behave so strangely as to merit the following rebuke from *The Brooklyn Eagle*?

"It is stated that the officers who were first at the scene of the riot allowed their feelings against the negroes to interfere with their duties, and that instead of attacking the white rioters they struck at the negroes with their clubs."

Mr. Watson's establishment, with its broken doors and windows, is closed and unoccupied, and the hands, white as well as black, are for no fault of theirs thrown out of employment. The colored people dare not return to Mr. Lorillard's factory even. Threats of future demolition and assault are made, and yet we found only five policemen there yesterday to defend the just rights of the people.

Such a riot could not have occurred in that place had it not been for the number of unlicensed grog-shops that abound there. The following persons were injured during the riot: James Burns (officer,) hit on the head with a brick; John Donnelly (officer,) hit on the head with a box; Michael Oats (officer,) hit on the back with a brick; Capt. Holbrook, wounded in the hand; Sergeant Wright, wounded in the shoulder; Ohas. Baker (colored,) badly wounded in the face and head; Spaulding, stabbed in the neck with a pitchfork by a negro; Phelan, a boy, stabbed dangerously.

Yesterday morning the Court-room of Justice Boerum, in Court street, near Baltic, was thronged with an excited crowd. A large array of lawyers, all volunteers, appeared on behalf of the rioters, and but one man, Mr.

Charles Kelsey, jr., had anything to say on the other side. Being no lawyer, he made but poor progress. The persons arraigned are named as follows, with their occupations, &c., and the charges against them:

Patrick O. Keenan, aged 30, born in Ireland, ginseller by occupation, charged with riot and arson.

Charles Baker, black, aged 29, born in the United States, laborer, charged with felonious assault.

Joseph Flood, aged 19, born in Ireland, a soldier charged with riot.

Elias P. Viedell, aged 26, born in the United States, carpenter, charged with riot.

Patrick Day, aged 17, born in Ireland, tobaccoist, charged with riot.

Michael Maher, aged 30, born in Ireland, laborer, charged with riot.

Wm. Morris, aged 18, born in Ireland, laborer, charged with riot.

John Long, aged 46, born in Ireland, laborer, charged with riot.

Richard Raylis, aged 46, born in the United States, seaman interfering with officer.

The District-Attorney, not being able to be in attendance for the prosecution, the Justice concluded to adjourn the examination of the parties until Monday next, fixing the bail of each at \$500. Several, including Mr. Keenan, procured bail, and the others (with the exception of the colored man, Baker,) were committed. The charge against Baker was withdrawn, as it was evident that he had assaulted the officer under a misapprehension. The Justice, in discharging him, said that he did perfectly right, under the circumstances, in defending himself as he did.

It may be proper to state that Keenan denies having set fire to the premises, or countenanced such a proceeding in any manner.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

DISPOSAL OF RECAPTURED AFRICANS.

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN M. DE RAASLOFF AND SECRETARY SMITH.

[From the National Intelligencer, July 24.]

In acceptance of a proposition made some time since by the Danish government, and communicated by the President to Congress, an act was passed at the recent session authorizing the President to enter into arrangements with one or more foreign governments having possessions in the West Indies or other tropical regions, to receive from the United States all negroes delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of United States vessels, and to provide them with suitable instruction, clothing and shelter, and to employ them at wages, under such regulations as shall be agreed upon, for a period not exceeding five years from the date of their being landed at the place or places agreed upon. In pursuance of this act the subjoined contract has just been entered into by the Minister of Denmark and the Secretary of the Interior on the part of the United States.

COPY OF AGREEMENT.

This agreement, entered into between Waldemar Rudolph Von Raasloff, Charge d'Affaires for and on behalf of the government of Denmark, and Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, for and on behalf of the government of the United States, witnesseth:

That the government of Denmark agrees to receive from the United States, through its duly constituted authorities, for a term of five years at a landing place called Westend on the Danish Island of St. Croix, in the West Indies, all negroes, mulattoes or persons of color delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of United States armed vessels, and to provide them with suitable instruction, and with comfortable clothing and shelter, and to employ them at wages, in conformity with the provisional act issued by the Governor of St. Croix on the 26th day of January, 1849, entitled 'Provisional act' to regulate the relations between the proprietors of landed estates and the rural population of free labor-

ers (a copy of which is hereto annexed) for a period not exceeding five years from the date of their being landed at the aforesaid landing place, and the United States shall not be liable for any expense on account of said negroes, mulattoes or persons of color after having landed them at the aforesaid landing place. And the government of the United States agrees to deliver to the government of Denmark, or its duly constituted authorities, at the aforesaid landing place on the Danish Island of St. Croix, in the West Indies, whenever practicable, all negroes, mulattoes or persons of color delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of United States armed vessels during the five years next succeeding the date of this agreement; and to issue instructions to the commanders of the armed vessels of the United States directing them, whenever it shall be practicable, and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the President of the United States, to proceed directly to the aforesaid landing place on the Danish island of St. Croix, and there deliver to the duly constituted authorities of the government of Denmark all negroes, mulattoes or persons of color delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade.

And it is further agreed that the government of Denmark shall allow the United States Consul for St. Croix, or such other agent as the government of the United States may appoint for that purpose, freely and without hinder, and at all times, to visit and inspect the condition of the negroes, mulattoes or persons of color that may have been landed on the Island of St. Croix under this agreement.

Signed, sealed and delivered in duplicate at Washington, this nineteenth day of July, A. D., eighteen hundred and sixty-two.

W. Raasloff, Charge d'Affaires.

Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of Interior.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of George Walker and George C. Whiting.

A PHASE OF SLAVERY.—An officer of the seventeenth Massachusetts Regiment, writing from Newbern, North Carolina, alludes to a phase of slavery that recently came under his notice, which strikingly illustrates the moral effects of the institution among the whites. Such instances as he mentions are not rare in the slaves states. Speaking of a contraband, a pretty yellow girl about 15 years old, who passed over the ferry in company with others fleeing from servitude, he says:

She was the daughter of her master, her mother being a rich man's slave not twenty miles from where I now sit writing. She was brought up on the plantation of her father until about 14 years old, when the old planter, her father, began to think her old enough for use. She now carries the scars on her back where she was whipped before she would submit to her own father's lustful embraces. Day after day she went through the flogging, but at last her spirit, as well as the flesh, was broken. She could withstand the monster no longer. The master and father triumphed over his helpless victim, and after due course of time, she had a baby by her own father. This baby, a few days ago, was forcibly taken from his mother, (when they heard the Yankees were coming,) and sent into the country towards Goldsboro, thinking of course the mother would sooner sacrifice liberty than her child; but the woman had made up her mind that when the Yankees did come she would go with them, no matter what the consequence.

Well, the mother is here, the child is—she don't know where.

GENERAL T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

We continue to make extracts from the writings of this British statesman, in whose quaint style may be picked out, at every turn, rich grains of common sense, well adapted to the present condition of our country. General Thompson, has from the first, not only

shown himself a well wisher to the cause of the enslaved, but a sincere and enlightened friend of the United States. His letters and papers on the civil war now progressing in this country, published in numerous British journals, must have done much to remove prejudice, and diffuse a more friendly spirit towards the loyal States in England than before existed. America cannot well afford to treat with indifference the criticisms of such friends. The following is among General Thompson's latest remarks on American affairs:

In America to the latest dates, the miserable work goes on. Nobody since the flood, had ever such an awful responsibility, and made such a wretched use of it. It was not that something was to be done, it only wanted to be let alone. Wise and active public servants rushed to put out the conflagration; when order after order came from the Grand Regulator, that that water was not to be applied.

Never was an earthly occasion, where the importance of acting on the moment was so visible. The dullest on both sides might have been supposed to know, that to give the conflagration the chance of living till tomorrow when it could be put out to-day, was to throw the fortunes of the republic into the enemy's hands. It was no secret, that a power divided into two halves by a rebellious invasion, ceased to be a power at all, and was at the mercy of all foes and all rivals. It was no secret that there were countries in Europe where predominant influences would hurry with the malignity of envious shrews, to take advantage of the inviting time; or if anybody did not know before, the expedition to Mexico was there by return of post to clear their brains. All this might have been prevented in the bud, as easily as a good housewife stops a conflagration in her bed curtains by application of the water-jug; but there was a power to stay the hand.

The way taken was little short of madness. It was as if troops who had only to walk in at an open breach, were halted to settle a Tariff, or hear a lecture on the Hypostatical Union. And now there has come of it, what has come. It is useless to fight over again the lost battle, except as by the infinite mercy of heaven there may be an opportunity of applying the lesson of the past. The myriads sent under the sod in compliance with the crotchet of the wrong man in the wrong place, can never appear again till the day of account. But further myriads might by possibility be spared, if 'my people, would lay it to heart, and walk in the way of truth and common sense.

See now what the thing has come to already, and add what is like to be behind. A country covered with blood and misery, because the government played, into the hands of an invading rebellion, by refusing to touch the point on which the existence of the rebels hung. It would not touch it and it would not let other people touch it. No heart among all that have beaten upon earth, had conceived of such folly or such treachery.

And next what is left in prospect. The latest announcement from the English emissaries quartered on America, is that the Northern States are to be conquered by the Slave Power, and the leader of the Pro-slavery Crusade is to be the next President of the United States. Of course this is received with thrilling rapture by all who love Slavery and dread the advances of popular freedom in England. The man who drives his serfs to an election with their backs bared for anything he may choose to inflict.—or who chuckles at the saving to his thousands of income by throwing the public expenses on the poor by a forty-fold rate through the invention of indirect taxation,—feels as brother feels for brother, at the idea of the victory of his ally.

There may still be virtue in America to blow up the advance of their enemy. One

step into the right would do it, and nothing else will. A simple declaration of Emancipation to the enemy's slaves,—a scouting of the treasonable plea that by a rebellion for Slavery what was called Slave property was not forfeited,—a recognition befitting sensible men, that what was called a forfeiture was in fact no forfeiture but what ought to be paid for as a benefit,—a taking of the question out of the hands of hidden enemies in America and in Europe, and leaving it to the magnificent common sense of a free and intelligent people,—might yet save America from the horrors of a conquest, in comparison of which all that has ever been suffered from the tyrant and the invader, would be wiped from the memory of mankind.—Bradford Advertiser, Aug. 2.

The game of blood and folly goes on in America. They will never mend till more of them are embalmed. Three hundred thousand new ones are to be called out for that delicate process. But what is to be done, when a man is allowed to pass a self-denying ordinance against victory?

In Europe we fight because we want something; and we go the way to what we want. Fancy Cromwell proceeding to carry the Lord's host to Ireland, and snubbing every general who invited the persecuted malcontents to join. Or Washington discovering that he was in duty bound to fight for the status quo, and all he proposed was to obtain a revocation of the tea tax. Washington's is an awful name to produce upon the scene. It suggests the idea of a scale of beings, with a giant at one end and a lameter at the other.

European wars have been sanguinary and needless; but who slew all these? There was nothing to do but "go up into the city every man straight before him," when the great anti-deliverer said Halt. Something like it perhaps took place, when Napoleon in his zeal for an institution refused to accept the aid of the serfs of Russia, and went to St. Helena to give it half a century more life. Small grief would have been, had that been all; but a gallant nation, and thirty million souls in their family relations, paid the forfeit.

And so far as vulgar foresight based on the ordinary connexion of things as they have been, may frame a prospect,—what is to be the end? The power that rules the world, seldom gives man or multitude two chances, where there has been rude and idiotic rejection of the first. Such man or multitude ends by being gibbeted for a scarecrow. When the youth of America have been sent to the embalmer, what is to come next? To all appearance, of two things one. Either painful succumbing to the slave-power exerting itself through headquarters,—or doing last what might as well have been done first, and left the lights of a million of families to gladden the hearts that loved them.

The feeling for slavery must be intensely strong and general in America. Everybody knew it was strong in England; though as in America, nobody knew its strength until it was tried. Bit by bit, crafty interests led the way like decoy ducks for fools to follow. The commercial war-spirit, which is the real governor of England, lives in hope of the glories that are to arise. The great ship and the expedition to Mexico were feelers in the same direction. The academical youth at Oxford, nursery of divines, lifts up his voice for slavery and the rebel ladies. As if Wellington would not have put down such a thing if it had happened to him, in a way that should have made the ears of those who heard to tingle. Everything showed that England was loaded and primed for slavery, and wanted nothing but an excuse for the predominating power to pull the trigger. The pseudo commercial interest was at the top, and political jealousy of the effects on British serfs backed it up. Surely no idocy—madness would be complimentary—could equal the tempting a European interference with one half of America set against the other, or neglecting to quash the danger by taking God and nature's remedy before too late. T. P. THOMPSON.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GEN. LEE AND
GEN. HALLECK.HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF VIRGINIA,
August 13, 1862.

To Major General Halleck:

The subjoined report was received at one o'clock this A. M. Signed JOHN POPE, Major General.

HEADQUARTERS CAVALRY BRIGADE,
Second Corps d'Armee of Virginia,
August 13, 1862.

To Col. Geo. D. Ruggles Chief of Staff:

I have the honor to report that in obedience to instructions received from the Major General commanding the army of Virginia this morning, I proceeded in the direction of Orange Court House with the 1st Vermont, Colonel Tompkins; 1st Michigan, Colonel Broadhead; 1st Virginia, Lieut. Col. Richmond; 5th New York, Col. Deforest, and four pieces of artillery.

About three or four miles from your headquarters I discovered the pickets of the enemy, and soon after two large bodies of cavalry, and the woods filled with footmen. A strong line of skirmishers were thrown out, who drove in the pickets; when in range of the enemy a few shells were thrown which dispersed him in all directions.

The footmen kept in the wood and fled by the Rapidan Station. The cavalry fled down the Orange Court House roads.

I pursued them cautiously fearing an ambuscade, to Crooked river which had swollen to such an extent that my artillery could not cross. Part of the 1st Vermont and 1st Virginia cavalry swam the river and continued the pursuit to Robinson river which was so full and turbulent as to be extremely dangerous.

In the pursuit a good many prisoners, wounded on Saturday, were found abandoned. Major Anderson, chief of artillery to Gen. Jackson was found badly wounded at Crooked river, in charge of an assistant surgeon.

The flight of the enemy after Saturday's fight, was most precipitate and in great confusion. His old camp was strewn with dead men horses and arms. His flag of truce yesterday to bury his dead, afforded some more time for his escape. The enemy to-day has the benefit of a hard rain, which puts high water between us.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN BUFORD,
Brigadier General.HEADQUARTERS DEPT OF NORTHERN
VIRGINIA,
July 21, 1862.

General: It has come to my knowledge that many of our citizens engaged in peaceful avocations, have been arrested and imprisoned because they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, while others by hard and harsh treatment have been compelled to take an oath not to bear arms against that government. I have learned that about one hundred of the latter class have recently been released from Fortress Monroe.

This Government refuses to admit the right of the authorities of the United States to arrest our citizens and extort from them their parole not to render military service to their country under penalty of incurring punishment in case they fall into the hands of your forces. I am directed by the Secretary of War that such oaths will not be regarded as obligatory, and persons who take them will be required to do military service. Should your government treat the rendition of such service by these persons as a breach of parole and punish it accordingly, this government will resort to retaliatory measures as the only means of compelling the observance of the rules of civilized warfare.

I have the honor to be respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, Gen. Commanding.

To Major Gen. G. B. McClellan, commanding army of the Potomac.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
Washington Aug. 13, 1862.To Gen. Geo. B. McClellan, Commanding
Army of the Potomac:

General:—I have just received from the Adj. General's office, your letter of 130, enclosing a letter from Gen. R. E. Lee, of July 21st.

The letters of Gen. Dix and Maj. Wood, will furnish you with the proper information.

For a reply to Gen. Lee's complaint in regard to the treatment of prisoners at Fortress Monroe, the Government of the United States has never authorized any extortion of oaths of allegiance or military paroles, and has forbidden any measures to be resorted to tending to that end.

Instead of extorting the oath of allegiance and paroles, it has refused the applications of several thousand prisoners to be allowed to take them and return to their homes in the rebel States. At the same time this government claims and will exercise the right to arrest, imprison, or place beyond its military lines any person suspected of giving aid and information to its enemies, or of any other treasonable act. And if persons so arrested voluntarily take the oath of allegiance or give their military parole and afterwards violate their plighted faith, they will be punished according to the laws and usages of war.

You will assure General Lee that no unseemly threats of retaliation on his part will deter this government from exercising its lawful rights over both the persons and property of whatever name or character.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,
H. W. HALLECK,

General-in-Chief, U. S. A.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
Washington, August 7, 1862,

To Gen. Lee Commanding, &c:

General: Your letter of July 6th was received at Adjutant General's office on the 14th, but supposing from its endorsement that it required no further reply, it was filed without being shown to the President or Secretary of War.

I learn to day for the first time that such letter had been received and hasten to reply:

No authentic information has been received in relation to the execution of John Owen or Mumford, but measures will be immediately taken to ascertain the facts of these alleged executions, of which you will be duly informed.

I need hardly assure you, General, that so far as the United States authorities are concerned, this contest will be carried on in strict accordance with the usages of modern warfare, and that all excesses will be duly punished.

In regard to the burning of bridges, &c., within our lines by persons in disguise as peaceful citizens, I refer you to my letter of the 22d of January last, to General Price. I think you find the views there expressed as not materially differing from those stated in your letter.

In regard to retaliation by taking the lives of innocent persons. I know of no modern authority which justifies it, excepting the extreme case of war with any uncivilized foe, which has himself first established such a barbarous rule. The United States will never countenance such proceeding unless forced to do so by the barbarous conduct of an enemy who first applies such a rule to our own citizens.

Very Respectfully your obedient servant,

H. W. HALLECK,

Maj. Gen. Commanding.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF C. S.,

Near Richmond, Aug. 2, 1862.

To the General Commanding the Army of
the United States, Washington:

General:—On the 29th of June last I was instructed by the Secretary of War to enquire of Major Gen. McClellan as to the truth of alleged murders committed on our citizens by officers of the United States army. The cases of Wm. B. Mumford, reported to have been murdered at New Orleans, by order of Major Gen. B. F. Butler, and Col. John Owen

reported to have been murdered in Missouri, by order of Maj. Gen. Pope, were those referred to.

I have the honor to be informed by Major Gen. McClellan that he had referred these enquiries to his government for a reply. No answer had as yet been received.

The President of the Confederate States has since been credibly informed that numerous other officers of the Army of the United States within the Confederacy, had been guilty of felonies and capital offenses, which are punishable by all laws, human and divine.

I am directed by him to bring to your notice a few of those best authenticated.—Newspapers received from the United States announce that Major General Hunter has armed slaves for the murder of their masters, and had done all in his power to inaugurate a servile war, which is worse than that of the savage, inasmuch that it superadds other horrors to the indiscriminate slaughter of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

Brig. Gen. Phelps is reported to have initiated at New Orleans the example set by Major General Hunter, on the coast of South Carolina. Brig. Gen. G. N. Fitch, is stated in the same journal to have murdered in cold blood two peaceful citizens, because one of his men while invading our country, was killed by some unknown person while defending his home.

I am instructed by the President of the Confederate States, to report relative to the cases of Mumford and Owen, and to ask whether statements in relation to the action of Gen's. Hunter, Phelps and Fitch are admitted to be true, and whether the conduct of the Generals is sanctioned by their government.

I am further directed by His Excellency, the President, to give notice that in the event of not receiving a reply to these enquiries within fifteen days after the delivery of this letter it will be assumed that the alleged facts are true and are sanctioned by the Government of the United States. In such event, on that Government will rest the responsibility of retaliatory measures which shall be adopted to put an end to the merciless atrocities which now characterize the war against the Confederate States.

I am, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE,

Major General Commanding.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE U. S. A.,

Near Richmond, Aug. 2, 1862.

To the General Commanding the United
States Army, Washington:

In obedience to the order of His Excellency, the President of the Confederate States, I have the honor to make you the following communication:

On the 22d of July last a cartel for a general exchange of prisoners was signed by Major General John A. Dix, in behalf of the United States, and by Major General D. H. Hillman, on the part of this government. By the terms of that cartel it is stipulated that hereafter all prisoners of war shall be discharged on parole until exchanged. Scarcely had the cartel been signed when military authorities of the United States commenced the practice, changing the character of the war from such as becomes civilized nations, into a campaign of indiscriminate robbery and murder.

A general order issued by the Secretary of War of the United States in the city of Washington, on the very day the cartel was signed in Virginia, directs the military commanders of the United States to take the property of our people for the convenience and use of the army without compensation.

A general order issued by Major General Pope, on the 23d of July, after the date of the cartel, directs the murder of our peaceful citizens as spies, if found guilty of tilling their farms in his rear, even outside of his lines. And one of his Brigadier Generals Steinwher caused innocent, peaceful inhabitants to be held as hostages to the end that they may be murdered in cold blood, if any of his soldiers are killed by some unknown

persons, whom he designates "bushwhackers." Some of the military authorities seem to suppose that their end will be better attained by a savage war, in which no quarter is to be given, and no age or sex is to be spared, than by such hostilities as above recognized to be lawful in modern times.

We find ourselves driven by our enemy and by steady progress, towards a practice which we abhor, and which we are vainly striving to avoid. Under these circumstances this government has issued the accompanying general orders, which I am directed by the President to transmit to you, recognizing Maj. Gen. Pope and his commissioned officers to be in the position which they have chosen by themselves that of robbery, murder, and not that of public enemies entitled if captured to be treated as prisoners of war.

The President also instructs me to inform you that we renounce our right of retaliation on the innocent, and will continue to treat the private enlisted soldiers of Gen. Pope's army as prisoners of war, but if after notice to your government that we confine repressive measures to the punishment of commissioned officers who are ready and willing participants in the crimes of the savage practices threatened in the orders alluded to, be persisted in, we shall reluctantly be forced to the last resort of accepting the war on the terms chosen by our enemies, until the voice of outraged humanity shall compel a respect for the recognized usages of war.

While the President considers that the facts referred to would justify a refusal on our part to execute the cartel by which we have agreed to liberate an excess of prisoners of war in our hands, a sacred regard for plighted faith which shrinks from the semblance of breaking a promise, precludes a resort to such an extremity. Nor is it his desire to extend to any other forces of the United States the punishment merited by Gen. Pope and such commissioned officers as choose to participate in the execution of his infamous order.

I have the honor to be very respectfully your Obedient Servant,
R. E. LEE,
General Commanding.

GENERAL ORDER, NO. 54.

From the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Richmond, Virginia, August 1, are enclosed. They refer to the future retaliatory course of the Southern Confederacy, owing to the recent orders of the President of the United States, and Generals Pope and Steinwher. They were published Saturday:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY }
Washington, August 9, 1862. }

To Gen. R. E. Lee, Commanding, &c. :

General: Your two communications of the 2d instant, with enclosures are received. As the papers are couched in language exceedingly insulting to the Government of the United States, I must respectfully decline to receive them. They are returned herewith.

Very respectfully your obedient servant
H. W. HALLECK,
Commander in Chief U. S. Army.

LETTER FROM GEN. HUNTER TO REV. DR. TYNG:

HILTON HEAD, PORT ROYAL, S. C. July 17.
Rev. STEPHEN H. TYNG, President of the National Freeman's Relief Association, N. Y. City :

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated June 2, 1862, expressing to me the approval of my course in regard to the freed slaves of this department by the important and benevolent association of which you are President.

Satisfied of having attempted, in the absence of instructions, to do my duty in the matter according to the best lights of my judgment and a long experience, every assurance of sympathy from men whose characters I esteem, is gratifying, and enables me to wait with more patience for those inevitable days which are to give a policy on the slavery question to our Government.

It is my only fear that the lesson may not be understood and acted upon until read in

characters of blood at the fireside of every Northern family. To attain wisdom we must suffer; but that wisdom on the slavery question must finally be obtained, is my sustaining faith.

But in the presence of one great evil which has so long brooded over our country, the intelligence of a large portion of our people would seem paralyzed and helpless. Their moral nerves lie torpid under its benumbing shadow. Its breath has been the pestilence of the political atmosphere in which our statesmen have been nurtured; and never I fear, until its beak is dripping with the best blood of the country, and its talons tangled in her vitals, will the free masses of the loyal States be fully aroused to the necessity of abating the abomination at whatever cost and by whatever agencies.

Our people are not dull of comprehension in regard to matters about which free play is given to their common sense. When a fire is spreading through a block of houses, they do not hesitate to batter down an intermediate house to save the remainder of the block. When the plague occupies an infected district the district is quarantined, and every resource of science and industry put forth to rid the locality of its presence. The soldiers of health are by no means ordered to mount guard over each smitten house and see that the vested interests of pestilence are protected—"Break open doors, if they be not opened," is the order on these occasions. "Let in fresh air and sunlight; let purity replace corruption."

This is written, not politically, but according to my profession in the military sense. Looking forward, there looms up a possibility (only too possible) of a peace which shall be nothing, but an armistice, with every advantage secured to the rebellion. Nothing can give us permanent peace but a successful prosecution of the war with every weapon and energy at our command, to its logical and legitimate conclusion. The fomenting cause of the rebellion must be abated; the axe must be laid to the root of the upstart tree, which has rained down such bitter fruit upon our country, before anything like a permanent peace can be justly hoped.

Already I see in many influential quarters, heretofore opposed to my views in favor of arming the blacks, a change of sentiment. Our recent disasters before Richmond have served to illuminate many minds.

To speak of using the negroes merely for throwing up intrenchments is a step in the right direction, though far short of what must be the end. It has the advantage, however, of making the further and final step necessary; for men working in the face of the enemy must have arms with which to protect themselves if suddenly attacked.

On the whole, there is much reason to be satisfied with the progress made by public sentiment, considering how deeply rooted were the prejudices to be overcome, the general failure of the nation to realize at first the proportions of the war, and the impunity still extended to those Northern traitors who are the plunderers of the Government, by means of fraudulent army and navy contracts, on the one hand, while using every energy of tongue and pen to excite discontent with our Government and sympathy with the more candid and courageous traitors of the South who are in arms against us.

In conclusion it may not be inappropriate to say that in transmitting the approval of the National Freedman's Relief Association of my course, you were—doubtless unconsciously—indorsing views which your own earnest eloquence had no slight share in maturing. Though without the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, I was during a year, a member of your congregation, and take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging my indebtedness to your teachings.

Your letter would have been earlier answered, had not pressing duties too fully occupied my time.

Believe me, sir, very truly, your obliged and obedient servant,
D. HUNTER.

P. S.—None of the carefully fostered delusions by which slavery has sustained itself at the North, is more absurd than the bugbear of "a general migration of negroes to the North," as a necessary sequence of emancipation. So far is this from the fact, that altho' it is well known that I give passes North to all negroes asking them, not more than a dozen have applied to me for such passes since my arrival here, their local attachments being apparently much stronger than with the white race. My experience leads me to believe that the exact reverse of the received opinion on this subject would form the rule, and that nearly if not quite, all the negroes of the North would migrate South whenever they shall be at liberty to do so without fear of the auction block.

Sincerely,
D. H.

—There are sixty hospitals in Richmond. Allowing each to contain 200 patients—which is a very small average—the aggregate of sick and wounded rebel soldiers in that city would be twelve thousand.

—It is reported from Washington that there is an immediate want of about 200 well educated and energetic physicians, to fill the positions of surgeon and assistant surgeon in the regular service. Salaries \$180 and \$120 per month, respectively.

—The New York Express says it is understood in military circles that the levy of 300,000 militia is to be organized upon the mode of the French National Guard. They are to be fully armed, equipped and drilled, and allowed to attend to their business, subject to immediate call for duty.

—The sudden interruption of telegraphic communication between Harrison's Landing and Washington, caused by the breaking of the cable across Chesapeake Bay, brought Gen. McClellan down the James one afternoon last week, on his way to Cherry Stone to hold his usual telegraphic conversation with Gen. Halleck.

—The engine-house of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, at St. Joseph, Mo., with five locomotives and other machinery, was burned on the night of the 15th. Only one engine was saved. Loss \$600,000, and only partially insured.

—It having been decided to make Portsmouth Grove, R. I., a permanent hospital, twenty-eight buildings for hospital purposes are being erected, each one to be 250 feet long by 30 wide, one and a half stories high.

—Mayor Bemis, of Springfield, has issued a proclamation cautioning persons from leaving that city to avoid a draft. The police will arrest all who attempt to leave under suspicious circumstances.

—The reinforcements of our army in the field, raised under the President's late calls are, now reaching their respective destinations at the rate of five thousand a day, says a Washington dispatch.

—The Louisville Journal mentions that troops are pouring into Kentucky from Indiana and Ohio, till quite a formidable army has collected, but it is not at liberty to speak of their destination.

—Secretary Chase has given permission to Gen. Dix to retain in his possession the flags taken from the revenue cutter McClellan, which were taken from that vessel just before she was burnt by the rebels at New Orleans.

—It is announced that four full regiments of Union troops have been raised in Arkansas and organized at Cassville since July last.

Particulars of his Fight on the Rappahannock.

A brief dispatch reported the capture of 2,000 rebels on the Rappahannock by General Sigel. The Philadelphia Press gives the following particulars:

PRELIMINARY ATTACKS.

The rebels attacked our centre at an early hour on the 21st, and continued until about one o'clock. At one time they attempted to cross the river, but were driven back with considerable loss. We took nine prisoners at this point, who were the most oddly and wretchedly dressed soldiers we ever cast our eyes on. Two of these attracted our attention especially. One was dressed partially in clothes taken from our dead or wounded on the field, and seemed to feel very uncomfortable as his boots and pants were spoken of as having been taken from the dead. Another was an intelligent-looking and determined negro, who fought, we were told, with the utmost desperation as he was about to be captured.

The rebels next attacked our forces at Kellyville, or Kelly's Ford. While the cannonading was going on above, and I was quiet at this point, and our boys were regaling themselves with broiled beef, &c., a rebel major came over among them, who had become faint with hunger, and begged a few crackers. These and some coffee and beef being given to him, he resigned himself to our charge, where in future his creature wants will be more generously and plentifully supplied than among the needy rebels.

The attack at Kelly's Ford was repulsed, and the cannonading ceased about 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Our line of battle was maintained, and the men slept on their arms all night. The enemy having felt our line at various points, but principally at those named, we expected a night attack, and waited with much anxiety, each moment expecting to hear from him, but all was quiet during the night.

In the morning, however, at a quarter past five o'clock, he opened a battery on our centre, and continued vigorously to throw shot and shell for several hours. A little higher up it was discovered that the enemy had, during the night, erected a bridge over the river.

ATTACK UPON SIGEL.

At this point the most brilliant and successful affair of the day is reported to have occurred. In the vicinity of this bridge was one of General Sigel's batteries, on which the rebels opened a brisk fire, to which, for a time, our battery replied with spirit. In a little while our fire slackened, and then ceased, the battery having been apparently silenced or withdrawn. Three rebel regiments now rushed across the bridge, and Sigel offered no opposition.

SIGEL WINS THE VICTORY.

Everything seems favorable, but alas! the scene soon changes. No sooner have they crossed than Sigel opens his battery on the bridge. The fourth shot completely demolishes it, and at the same time a deadly fire of musketry assails the rebels in front. Their retreat is cut off. No hope is left. A few shots from our battery, a charge, and they are ours. Not a man escaped! Nearly two thousand are said to have been captured, and about four hundred killed and wounded.

The enemy having failed in this, now hurled forward their forces with impetuosity, and strive to outflank Sigel by crossing at French's Ford; but General Pope orders up Banks and Reno to the aid of Sigel, and the enemy is again repulsed, and moves higher up the river. How the next attempt of the enemy succeeded, I have not yet learned.

A NIGHT SKIRMISH AT CATLET'S STATION.

The same correspondent thus describes a night skirmish at Catlet's Station:

Finding that the progress of the rebels was still northward, and that they would be likely to make a desperate attempt to cross the North Fork where the road leads to Warrenton, I took passage in the train for Alexandria to go up the road, and be nearer the scene of expected action. Night had just set when we arrived at Catlet's Station, and the train was switched off to permit the down

train to pass; scarcely was this accomplished, when picket firing was heard in the rear of the encampment, which, at this point, protected a supply train and some cattle. A terrific uproar now commenced, which, owing to the darkness, we could not fairly comprehend. In an instant a terrific fight at close quarters commenced, the combatants being as close as a mob in a street row.

Some one in command gave the word "Fire the train," or "Fire at the train," at which the engineer and one of the conductors, together with some of the passengers fled in terror. I lay down on the seat on which I had been sitting, so as to be protected from the balls, which were flying in all directions, and at the same time to observe the fight through a window of the car. Fortunately, one of the brakemen of the car had the presence of mind to turn the switch and start the engine, or we should all have been killed, as a portion of the attacking party now directed their attention exclusively to us. We had not proceeded far when we were attacked again, in a much more terrific and murderous manner than before, by a large troop of cavalry.

This time we all lay down, and though a perfect shower of leaden hail greeted us, completely riddling the car, we all fortunately escaped uninjured. I shall not rapidly forget the terror-stricken appearance of a lady and a little girl about twelve years of age, as a flash of lightning revealed their faces where they lay in terror, nor the tenacity with which a young man lying beside me clasped me for protection. My position was on the side of the train which was attacked.

After we had proceeded a little further on our way and had escaped one danger, a new one awaited us. We were in danger of being run into by the down train. Most of the hands had run off, and the brakeman, who was running the engine, came back where a Major Halfman, of Philadelphia, and myself were standing. The brakeman told us that he was afraid to go farther, as he had no one to man the brakes. Your correspondent and the major at once volunteered to perform that duty, which we did accordingly, and proceeded on our way to Manassas Gap Junction, fortunately without meeting with any further impediment.

PRISONERS.

Since the above was written I have learned that Lieutenant A. C. Ellis, of the Sixth Wisconsin regiment, came up to Washington from Catlet's Station, bringing with him as prisoner a rebel Lieutenant, J. O. Hobbs, of Company K, First Virginia Cavalry (late Ashby's), who was captured during the attack of Friday night at Catlet's Station. The attacking party consisted of three squadrons of cavalry, who were speedily driven from the ground by our forces encamped at the Station. Two of our men were wounded, one mortally.

A large number of the rebels were, doubtless, killed and wounded, but borne away by their comrades. Eight dead horses, with all their accoutrements, were left on the field. The rebel cavalry, in addition to those already mentioned, were the Fifth and Ninth Virginia, under the command of Brigadier General Lee, a son of the rebel commander-in-chief. The prisoner Hobbs is a Marylander whose family resides about thirty miles from Washington city. He was sent to the old Capitol prison.

GOV. SPRAGUE'S COLORED REGIMENT.—The Providence Journal says that more than a sufficient number of recruits for a company have been enrolled. The uncertainty which hangs over the matter discourages a rapid organization. If it was a fixed fact that the regiment would be organized and go into service, it would be completed in a very short time.

A report of a conversation between the rebel Van Dorn and Com. Brown of the ram Arkansas, published in the Chicago Times, concludes with the statement that Brown refused to run the ram out from Vicksburg against our fleet immediately after running the gauntlet, on being ordered so to do by Van Dorn, and that he instantly resigned his commission.

—The Steuben Courier says authorizations have been received to raise another new regiment in that district.

AN APPEAL IN BEHALF OF COLORED CITIZENS.

Last evening a large and attentive congregation was assembled in Shiloh Presbyterian Church, Prince Street, to hear an appeal in behalf of the persecuted colored citizens of the Free States, by the Rev. Henry Highland Garnet pastor of the church.

He commenced his discourse by setting forth the disadvantages under which his people in the Free States were laboring, the insults and the assaults to which they were subjected by the prejudices of the dominant class. He said if the question is asked by what agencies has this alarming and discreditable state of things been produced? By what power has one class of community been arrayed against another—the strong against the weak—the many against the few? You all know what influences have consummated the sad work. Enemies have been busy among—enemies to a weak and oppressed people—enemies to law and order, and enemies to the Government under which they live, and to the principles of the Christian religion. It cannot be denied that a limited portion of the newspaper press of this city, and a few in other sections of the country, have been the principal instigators of this murderous mob movement. Foremost in this seditious and bloody crusade are the N. Y. Herald, and the N. Y. Express. He described the slanderous and mischievous course of all such journals, and charged that whatever the consequences might be, their conductors would be held responsible. He continued: Brethren I call you to bear witness, that this crusade was commenced against us simultaneously with the commencement of the rebellion. Mark that. Now, it is my opinion that all this is an important part of the programme of this bloody Secession drama. Let me tell you why I believe this. The sagacious leaders of the Rebellion knew that their success depended upon these three things: 1. The services of their slaves to feed their army and build their fortifications, and to perform all other necessary labor. Second, the division of Northern sentiment in regard to the war. Third, To create so strong a prejudice against the free colored people of the North, as to keep them out of the Union army. And this plan has been thus far successfully carried out. Their Northern emissaries have been as devoted to their duty, as the not more active slaveholding traitors. He appealed to his people amid all their trials, to be calm cautious and manly in whatever they said or did. He urged them to nobly bear insult and vituperation, and to remember that words cannot harm a noble mind, although they may wound the feelings. A gallant and dignified bearing would do more to disarm malice, and to make friends than an attempt to avenge every trifling insult.

In reference to the character of his people he said, we do not claim for ourselves perfection, yet I affirm, and am sustained by statistics, that we are as industrious, and sober, and as provident, as the corresponding classes of our white fellow citizens. The most of our people belong to the laboring classes, and it is seen by our school reports that we have a larger number of children in the public schools of this city than the same class have among the whites. It is proverbial that we have but few beggars among us, and we have fewer persons of our race supported by public charity in proportion to our number, than any other class of people. Driven as we have been, by the power of caste, and negro hate from nearly every lucrative employment yet we live comfortably and respectably. With our scanty earnings we support our churches and institutions of benevolence.

We declare, without fear of contradiction, that we are loyal to the Government under which we were born, and under which we live, and have never failed as a class to obey the laws of the land.

At the very commencement of the rebellion, thousands of our men offered their services to the government, and although in every instance they have been rejected with

Haytian Advertisements.

INVITATION.

Hayti will soon regain her ancient splendor. This marvelous soil that our fathers, blessed by God, conquered for us, will soon yield to us the wealth now hidden in its bosom. Let our black and yellow brethren, scattered through the Antilles, and North and South America, hasten to co-operate with us in restoring the glory of the Republic. Hayti is the common country of the black race. Our ancestors, in taking possession of it, were careful to announce in the Constitution that they published, that all the descendants of Africans, and of the inhabitants of the West Indies, belong by right to the Haytian family. The idea was grand and generous.

Listen, then, all ye negroes and mulattoes who, in the vast Continent of America, suffer from the prejudices of caste. The Republic calls you; she invites you to bring to her your arms and your minds. The regenerating work that she undertakes interests all colored people and their descendants, no matter what their origin or where their place of birth.

Hayti, regaining her former position, retaking her ancient sceptre as Queen of the Antilles, will be a formal denial, most eloquent and peremptory, against those detractors of our race who contest our desire and ability to attain a high degree of civilization. GEFFARD.

CIRCULAR---No. I.

To the Blacks, Men of Color, and Indians in the United States and British North American Provinces:

FRIENDS:—I am authorized and instructed by the Government of the Republic, to offer you, individually and by communities, a welcome, a home, and a free homestead, in Hayti.

Such of you as are unable to pay your passage will be provided with the means of defraying it.

Two classes of emigrants are especially invited—laborers and farmers. None of either class, or any class, will be furnished with passports, who cannot produce, before sailing, the proofs of good character for industry and integrity.

To each family of emigrants, five carreaux (a carreau is 3 acres and 3 1-3 rods) of fresh and fertile land, capable of growing all the fruits and staples of the tropics, will be gratuitously given, on the sole condition that they shall settle on it and cultivate it, and declare their intention of becoming citizens of Hayti. To unmarried men, on similar conditions, two carreaux will be granted.

Board and lodging, free of cost, will be furnished to the emigrants for at least eight days after their arrival in the island.

The government also will find remunerative work for those of you whose means will not permit you to begin immediately an independent cultivation.

Emigrants are invited to settle in communities.

Sites for the erection of schools and chapels will be donated by the State, without regard to the religious belief of the emigrants.

The same protection and civil rights that the laws give to Haytians are solemnly guaranteed to the emigrants.

The fullest religious liberty will be secured to them; they will never be called on to support the Roman Catholic Church.

No military service will be demanded of them, excepting that they shall form military companies and drill themselves once a month.

All the necessary personal effects, machinery and agricultural instruments introduced by the emigrants, shall be entered free of duty.

The emigrants shall be at liberty to leave the country at any moment they please; but those whose passage shall be paid by government, if they wish to return before the expiration of three years, will be required to refund the money expended on their account. A contract, fixing the amount, will be made with each emigrant before leaving the continent.

I have been commissioned to superintend the interests of the emigrants and charged with the entire control of the movement in America, and all persons, therefore, desiring to avail themselves of the invitation and bounty of the

Haytian Government, are requested to correspond with me.

I shall at once, as directed by the Government, establish a Bureau of Emigration in Boston, and publish a Guide Book for the use of those persons of African or Indian descent who may wish to make themselves acquainted with the resources of the country and the disposition of its authorities.

I shall also appoint Agents to visit such communities as may seriously entertain the project of emigration.

Immediate arrangements, both here and in Hayti, can be made for the embarkment and settlement of one hundred thousand persons.

By order of the Government of the Republic of Hayti.

JAMES REDPATH,

General Agent of Emigration.

Boston, Nov. 3, 1860.

CIRCULAR---No. III.

GENERAL HAYTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATION, }
BOSTON, January 1, 1862. }

WINTER AND SPRING ARRANGEMENTS.

Arrangements have been made by which emigrants can sail, monthly or oftener, from different American ports during the winter and spring. Due notice will be given of the days of sailing, through the columns of "The Pine and Palm."

Persons desiring to emigrate are requested to read carefully the circulars of this Bureau, as published in full in "The Pine and Palm," and to follow the directions therein given, as it is impossible to provide for the comfort of passengers except by insisting on a strict compliance with our regulations.

I. Let it be understood, that all who can pay for their passage are expected to do so; and that a passage will be advanced to such farmers and laborers only as are unable to meet this expense.

II. All mechanics who intend to practice their trades in Hayti must go at their own expense; the Government guarantees to find work for farmers and laborers only. It will welcome all colored emigrants; but it cannot agree to provide work for all classes of mechanics. Its demands for agricultural labor is unlimited; but for mechanical skill this is not the case.

III. Passengers will be charged at the rate of \$18 each adult from United States ports; from Canada, West, or Detroit, Buffalo, or intermediate places, \$25. Children under eight will be charged half price; infants under one year, free.

IV. Passengers, in all cases, must provide their own bedding at their own expense. Mattresses must be four feet wide. Each passenger must be provided with a tin gallon can for water, a tin cup, a tin plate, knife and fork, a few pounds of soap, and towels, with such extra utensils as may be deemed necessary to hold the daily rations. Every adult emigrant must also be provided with a hoe, an axe, and a spade.

V. The amount of baggage allowed to every passenger is two trunks, or two barrels, or one trunk and one barrel. All freight over that amount will be charged for, separately from the passage ticket, at the rate of 75 cents per barrel or 15 cents per cubic foot from American ports; and the amount of inland freight, if passengers come from the interior, will also be added to it. This is exclusive of the bedding, which goes free. *All goods must be boxed up.*

VI. The board provided for emigrants will be the navy rations of the United States, minus intoxicating spirits, which will not be allowed in our vessels. Emigrants are at liberty to carry, free of expense, additional provisions to be used on the voyage. Slight additions may be made to the navy rations; but the Bureau does not pledge itself to do so.

VII. As efforts have been industriously made by unscrupulous men to misrepresent the conditions under which emigrants who do not prepay their passages, must accept the offers of the Government of Hayti, it is deemed advisable to publish below, in full, the contract to be made with them. The words in italic and within brackets (blank in the original) are filled up to show precisely the terms on which a single man can emigrate. It should be distinctly understood, that no barrier whatever will be put to any man's return, excepting that he shall pay the sum of eighteen dollars, with freightage, if any, as above indicated, added, before embarking for the United States, if he did not pay for his own passage from this country to Hayti. The Government of Hayti, while they will welcome all visitors, cannot reasonably be expected to pay their passages. Hence this provision.

The following is the contract with the emigrants who do not prepay their passages:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this [first] day of [January,] A. D., 1862, by and between JAMES REDPATH, of Boston, General Agent of Emigration, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Hayti, and [John Smith,] late of [Detroit, Michigan,] and an emigrant to Hayti;

WITNESSETH: That said James Redpath, on behalf of the Government of Hayti aforesaid, agrees to provide a passage for said [John Smith] from the port of [Boston] to the port of [St. Mark,] in said Hayti, in the [Brig L'Ami d'Hayti] leaving the port of [Boston] on or about the [third] day of [January,] 1861, upon the conditions hereafter following, viz:

First, said [John Smith] hereby acknowledges the receipt of [a] ticket of passage from said port of [Boston] to said port of [St. Mark,] in Hayti, and agrees during the term of said voyage to provide [his] own bedding, and the necessary utensils for eating and drinking. Secondly, in consideration of receiving the passage aforesaid, said [John Smith] further agrees, that if he accepts a grant of land from the Government of Hayti, under the provisions of the law on Emigration, approved by His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Hayti, September 1, 1860, he will repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, within [three years] from the date of the contract.

Furthermore, that if from any cause said [John Smith] sees proper to leave Hayti before the expiration of the term of three years from the date of [his] arrival in the Island, [he] shall pay the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, as repayment of expenses incurred by the agents of the Government for [his] passage to Hayti; but, nevertheless, with this express provision: That if [he] does remain three years in the Island from the date of [his] arrival therein, and does not see fit to accept a grant of land from the Government of the Republic of Hayti, [he] shall not be required to repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti, or any agent of Government thereof, any sum whatever on account of said passage.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

JAMES REDPATH,
[John Smith.]

VIII. While all emigrants, who are able to do so, should pay their own expenses to the port of shipment, arrangements have been made by which an inland passage can be advanced to them from as far west as Detroit, but no further.

IX. To aid emigrants who wish to carry extra baggage, the Bureau will allow them, (by giving a note payable to the Government of Hayti,) to take such freight to the amount of \$10 at 15 cents per cubic foot.

X. The Bureau wishes it to be distinctly understood, however, that unless at least twenty days notice is given of intention to sail, with the amount of baggage to be taken, it will not hold itself responsible to secure a passage for any one.

XI. All persons desiring information relative to Hayti, or the Movement, are cordially invited to correspond with the General Agent, addressing him at New York.

XII. Usual length of voyage, from fourteen to twenty days.

XIII. Specimen copies of "The Pine and Palm," the official organ of the Movement will be sent, free, to any colored American, any where, by addressing the Publisher at Boston. It will constantly contain the fullest news and most reliable facts respecting Hayti.

XIV. Vessels for Hayti will sail every month from New York, Boston or Philadelphia.

XV. The New York Bureau is situated at 48 Beekman-st.; the Philadelphia Bureau, Room 3, Anthracite Building, corner of Second and Walnut-sts.; the Boston Bureau, Room 7, 231 Washington-st.

XVI. Correspondents should enclose a three-cent postage stamp, to prepay a letter in reply to their questions.

XVII. There are now no more copies of The Guide to Hayti, for gratuitous distribution; but "Haytian Papers—No. 1," which contain a brief synopsis of the Guide, will be sent to any address on receipt of a 3-cent postage stamp. The Guide can be had of G. Woodworth Catton, 18 Beekman Street, New York, at 50 cents for the Emigrants' Edition, and \$1 for the General Edition, postage paid.

JAMES R. REDPATH,
General Agent.